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THE  
PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY ;

OR,

THE LAW OF CONSEQUENCES ;

AS APPLICABLE TO

MENTAL, MORAL, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY

CHARLES BRAY.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

PART III.—SOCIAL SCIENCE.

5' LONDON :

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1841.

Soc 526.7



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# THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY.

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## PART III.

### SOCIAL SCIENCE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

(WE have examined the Constitution of Man, and the laws of his Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Being,—and we have seen that there is nothing in the constitution of human nature that should prevent the *whole* race from becoming what any *one* member of it has become.

We have observed the laws of Mind and Intelligence to be equally fixed with those of Matter, and we find that man moves merely as he is moved, by the original constitution or organization which he has received at birth, and the circumstances in which he is placed; and that knowing such original constitution and circumstances, we can, for our guidance, calculate as much upon volition as upon the physical laws of Attraction and Repulsion: that in consequence of the necessary limitation of his faculties, and his ignorance of the nature of all things around him, he is liable to do that which will injure him, and to leave undone that which is essential to his well-being and existence, and that pain, (which in its various modifications is called evil,) was appointed to drive him into the proper course of action, or to restrain him from that which is hurtful. Pain is thus the necessary consequence of man's disobedience to the laws upon which his well-being depends,

and pleasure the consequence of his obedience to such laws. Pain and pleasure, therefore, regulate all the actions of sensitive creation ; and God's government of the world consists in his attaching pains and penalties to certain actions, and pleasures to others—a simple revelation of His will, intelligible to all mankind—a language universally understood.

We have seen that evil is in all cases remediable by the discovery of the cause, and by pursuing a different mode of action to that which produced it, and that happiness is therefore dependent on knowledge.

Morality we have defined to be the science which teaches men the laws by which they may live together in the most happy manner possible, the fundamental moral law being the production of the largest sum of enjoyment to all, and not the happiness of the few at the expense of the many ; and we have shown that man must necessarily obey such laws, when he discovers the connexion between them and his own well-being, as it is the law of his existence to follow that which will produce the greatest happiness.

We have now to examine the present organization of Society, in order to ascertain how far it is in accordance with those principles which have been shown to be essential to the production of the greatest amount of happiness. In considering this question, we propose to trace the many evils and abuses that afflict Society to their source, and to examine how far the numerous remedies proposed for their abatement and reform, by various conflicting parties, are calculated to effect that purpose. As the Working Classes are by far the most numerous part of the population in all countries, in considering the mode by which the largest amount of happiness may be produced,

their condition surely ought to constitute the principal object of regard. Hitherto the working classes have seldom been viewed in so important a light; they have been looked upon by Political Economists, and too much so by their Rulers, as means only to the production of the largest amount of wealth, not as means to the largest amount of happiness. Athens, in the time of Pericles, contained 30,000 free citizens and 400,000 slaves: what these slaves were to the free state of antiquity, have the working classes been to us; for necessity has been and is now, a harder taskmaster than any mere instrument of human tyranny. But we trust that the time for their emancipation draws near, when the steam-engine shall take the place of the slaves, and do the drudgery of Society, and when all the higher and nobler parts of their nature, that peculiarly distinguish them as men, may have full scope, and they shall no longer be regarded as the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.)

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## SECTION I.

### DIVISION OF SOCIETY, ANNUAL INCOME OF THE KINGDOM, AND MODE OF ITS DISTRIBUTION.

The population of Great Britain, and we shall for the present speak of Great Britain alone, is estimated by Mr. M'Culloch to consist at the present time of 18 millions of inhabitants.\* The average rate of increase of the whole population has been ascertained to be about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum.

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\* Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. 2, p. 509.

Taking the census of 1831, with the ordinary rate of increase added, the inhabitants may be divided into

" Occupiers of land, employing and not employing	
Labourers ... ..	409,260
Capitalists, Bankers, Professional, and other Educated Men ... ..	246,530
Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft, as	
Masters or Workmen ... ..	1,333,837
Labourers and Operatives employed in Agriculture and Manufactures ... ..	3,135,299**

By this division there would be rather less than three persons dependent upon each of these, or less than four people to a family.

The average annual income of Great Britain, Mr. M'Culloch estimates at about £300,000,000, which is perhaps nearer the truth than the much larger estimates of some other parties. †

The land in cultivation in England and Wales is	Acres.
estimated at ... ..	28,749,000
" " " Scotland ... ..	5,043,450
The whole extent of surface ... ..	51,000,000
The Rent of Great Britain is estimated at ... £34,778,685	
Profits of Occupiers of Land ... ..	31,500,000
Profits of Manufacturers, Professional Men, &c.,	
as determined by the Income Tax in 1814 and	
1815, with 35 per cent. estimated increase	
added ... ..	50,000,000
National Revenue ... ..	50,000,000
Total ... ..	<u>£166,278,685‡</u>

The total of which Rent, Profits, and Taxes, deducted from the annual income of the kingdom, leaves

\* Porter's Progress of the Nation, sec. 1, p. 53. † Vol. 2, p. 509.

‡ It is not pretended that the above data are absolutely correct ; they are given only as being as near an approximation to the truth as we have any means yet of making.

£133,721,315, as the share of the Retailers, and of the Labourers and Operatives. Deduct only one-third as the share of the Retailers, supposing that some of them may be included in the other classes, it leaves for the 3,135,299 of all kinds of Agricultural and Manufacturing Labourers, £99,157,544, being rather less than one-third of the whole annual produce. This is the share allotted by the Landowner and Capitalist to the Labourer of that, which, in consequence of his labour, becomes joint capital. It is not quite £33 per year, or 12s. 8d. per week, for each family. For the use of land, machinery, capital, for liberty to work, and for protection, the working man thus gives 8 hours labour out of every 12.

“The returns of the Income Tax, in 1812, showed in Great Britain 127,000 persons with an income from £50 to £200

22,000	“	“	“	“	200 to 1000
3,000	“	“	“	“	1000 to 5000
600	“	“	“	“	above 5000

152,600 persons in all, possessing an income above £50 a-year; or 600,000 souls dependent upon persons in that situation. Of these the great majority unquestionably derived their incomes from professions or trades, and not from realized property. To so small a number is the immense wealth of Britain confined. The number is now greatly increased, but probably does not exceed 300,000. Mr. Colquhoun calculates the number of persons of independent fortune in Britain, that is, of persons who can live without daily labour, at 47,000, and their families at 234,000; or, including bankers, merchants, and others, who unite industrial profits to the returns of property, 60,000, and their families 300,000. On the other hand, there are 3,440,000 heads of families, and, 16,800,000 persons living on their daily labour. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants, alone are 1,800,000.—Colquhoun, 107, 111, and Baron de Stael, 54.”\*

“These facts,” says Mr. Alison, “are deserving the

\* Alison's Principles of Population, vol. 2, p. 48.



most serious consideration. They indicate a state of society, which is, to say the least, extremely alarming, and which, in ancient times, would have been the sure forerunner of national decline."

## SECTION II.

### ON THE INCOMES OF THE WORKING CLASSES, AND MODE OF EXPENDITURE OF THEIR WEEKLY EARNINGS.

The sum already mentioned as the average income of the family of a working man, consisting of four persons, viz., £33 a-year, or about 12s. 6d. a-week, will be found very nearly to coincide with the information derived from all other sources. If we reckon the family to consist of five persons, which is nearer the average than four, we must add about 3s. to the weekly earnings, making them 15s. 6d., or £40 a-year.

From the table drawn up by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1832,\* (since which there has

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	WEAVING BY HAND.							
* Spinners, men	1	0	0	to	1	5	0	Quality.	Woven by	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
women	0	10	0	0	15	0		Nankeens, fancy, men	9	0	to	0	15	0
Stretchers ...	1	5	0	1	6	0		Do. common, children						
Piecers, boys & girls	4	7	0	7	0			and women ...	6	0	0	8	0	
Scavengers ...	0	1	6	0	2	8		Do. best, men ...	10	0	0	13	0	
IN THE CARD ROOM :								Checks, fancy, men	7	0	0	7	6	
Men ...	0	14	6	0	17	0		Do. common, children	6	0	0	7	0	
Young women ...	0	9	0	0	9	6		Cambrics, all ages	6	0	0	6	6	
Children ...	0	6	0	0	7	0		Quiltings, men & wom.	9	0	0	12	0	
Throsle Spinners	0	5	0	0	9	6		Fustian-cutters, all ages	10	0	0	12	0	
Reelers ...	0	7	0	0	9	0		Machine-makers,						
WEAVERS BY POWER :								men ...	1	6	0	1	10	0
Men ...	0	13	0	0	16	10		Iron-founders, men	1	8	0	1	10	0
Women ...	0	8	0	0	12	0		Dyers & dressers, do.	15	0	1	0	0	
Dressers' men ...	1	8	0	1	10	0		Ditto, young men	0	12	0	0	14	0
Winders & Warpers	8	0	0	11	0			Ditto, boys ...	0	5	0	0	10	0
Mechanics ...	1	4	0	1	6	0		Tailors, men ...	0	18	0			

been no material alteration,) of the wages paid to labourers in cotton factories and other descriptions of workpeople in Manchester, the average weekly earnings, including all kinds of employment in the cotton factories, was from 12s. to 14s. 6d. If with these we include the wages of tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, &c., it raises the average to from 13s. 6d. to 15s. 9d. per week. The wages of some of the persons employed in the factories are as high as 30s., and of the other class of workpeople 24s. per week.

The condition of the hand-loom weavers is much

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Porters ...	0	14	0	to	0	15	0	Bricklayers...	0	17	0	to	1	0	0
Packers ...	1	0	0					Bricklayers' labourers	12	0					
Shoemakers ...	0	15	0	0	16	0		Painters ...	0	18	0				
Whitesmiths ...	1	2	0	1	4	0		Slaters ...	0	3	8	per	day		
Sawyers ...	1	4	0	1	8	0		Plasterers ...	0	19	0	1	1	0	
Carpenters...	1	4	0					Spademen ...	0	10	0	0	15	0	
Stonemasons ...	0	18	0	1	2	0									

Subjoined is an account of the prices of the principal articles of provision in Manchester, from 1826 to 1832, both inclusive, also drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce :—

ARTICLES.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef, best ...	0 6½	0 6	0 6½	0 6	0 5½	0 6	
Do., coarse ...	0 4½	0 4	0 4	0 3½	0 3	0 3½	
Bacon ...	0 7½	0 8	0 7½	0 7½	0 6½	0 7	0 7
Bread-flour ...	2 5	2 5	2 7	2 9	2 7	2 6	2 4
Do., wheaten ...	—	—	0 1½	0 2	0 2	0 1½	0 1½
Cheese ...	0 7½	0 7½	0 8	0 6½	0 7½	0 8	0 7½
Malt ...	2 1	2 4	2 2	2 2	2 1	2 4	2 2
Meal ...	1 7½	1 8½	1 7½	1 5	1 6	1 6	1 3
Potatoes ...	9 9	4 9	5 8	6 6	6 0	6 3	4 3
Pork ...	0 6½	0 7	0 6½	0 6½	0 5	0 5½	0 5½

“ These authentic statements fully demonstrate that, as respects wages, the condition of the workpeople employed in cotton factories is eminently prosperous.”—M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 664.

worse. From the Report of the House of Commons on the Hand-Loom Inquiry in 1835, it appears that the wages of the hand-loom weavers have been generally reduced since 1815 to one-third of the wages paid at that period.

The weekly wages that a fair average weaver can earn by the kind of work at which the majority of the weavers are now employed, are stated in evidence by weavers, manufacturers, and others, to be at

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Aberdeen	3	6 to 5	6	Nett	Manchester	5	0 to 7	6	Nett
Bolton ...	4	1½		"	Paisley ...	6	0 to 7	0	Gross
Dundee ...	6	0 to 7	0	"	Perth ...	4	9 to 7	9	Nett
Forfar ...	6	0		"	Preston ...	4	9 to 6	9	Gross
Glasgow ...	4	0 to 8	0	Gross	Spitalfields	7	9 to 8	6	"
Huddersfield	4	6 to 5	0	Nett	Stockport	9	0		"
a few as high as 16s.					Coventry	7	6		Nett
Lanark ...	5	0			Nuneaton	4	8		"

From the same Report we have a table by Mr. Needham, in which the price of weaving and the price of food are given, during five periods of seven successive years each, and one of two, comprising the time between the years 1797 and 1834.

From 1797 to 1804, a weaver could earn 26s. 8d. per week, which would purchase 100lbs. of flour, or 142lbs. of oatmeal, or 826lbs. of potatoes, or 55lbs. of butcher's meat, which would give a general average of a relative proportion of these articles of 281lbs.

From	s.	d.	lb.
1804 to 1811 the general average of Wages,	20	0 do. of Food,	238
1811 to 1818 " " " "	14	7 " " "	131
1818 to 1825 " " " "	8	9 " " "	108
1825 to 1832 " " " "	6	4 " " "	83
1832 to 1834 " " " "	5	6 " " "	83

During the time that wages are reduced to this

extremely low rate, it may naturally excite surprise, that all this class of workpeople do not find other employments. But, in fact, this very low rate of wages has a tendency to increase rather than diminish the number of this class, for this reason; a single man cannot live on so small a sum, he, therefore, marries as soon as possible, and he with his wife manage to support themselves on their joint earnings. The children are early trained to the same employment; so that when a family consists of five persons, and two of the children are above eight years old, their joint weekly earnings will amount to 12s. or 14s. per week. This class of people is thus continued because they require the services of their children early, and because they have not the means, even if they could spare them, of bringing them up to any other employment.

Mr. Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," p. 122, states, that

"Among the questions sent to the various parishes in England, during the enquiry into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws, it was asked 'What on the whole might an average labourer, obtaining an average amount of employment, both in day-work and piece-work, expect to earn in the year, including harvest-work and the value of all his other advantages and means of living, except parish relief? And what on the whole might a labourer's wife and four children, aged 14, 11, 8, 5, respectively, (the eldest a boy,) expect to earn in the year, obtaining as in the former case, an average amount of employment?'"

"The answer to these queries from 856, give, for the annual earning of the man, an average of ... .. £27 17 10  
And the answers from 668 parishes, give as the annual

earnings of the wife and children an average of ... 13 19 10  
Annual income of the family ... .. £41 17 8

"To the further question, 'Could such a family subsist on the

aggregate earnings of the father, mother, and children ; and if so, on what food ?' Answers were returned from 899 to the following effect,—71 said simply ' No ;' 212, ' Yes ;' 12, ' Barely, and without meat ;' 491, ' With meat.' "

This account of the rate of wages of the agricultural labourers may be considered a very favourable one ; for it is to be observed, that it is not what they really do earn, but what they might earn with an average amount of employment, supposing them all employed. Other accounts state the income of the Agricultural Labourers, particularizing Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Worcestershire, and Wilts, at an average of £22. 7s., or 8s. 6d. per week. A correspondent of the Morning Chronicle says, that few earn more than 8s. per week, and that this, allowing 9d. per week for rent, 1s. 6d. for fuel, 9d. soap, candles, &c., leaves 5s. for food, which, for a man and wife and four children, is just 10d. a-week for each ; or, allowing them food three times a-day, it will give something less than one halfpenny a meal.

The above rate of wages of each class is calculated upon the supposition that the people have constant employment, which is by no means the case. Scarcely a year passes in which the Cotton-Factory hands are not, at different periods, put upon half work. In fact, derangement in the currency, in both England and America ; changes in the fashion ; foreign competition, and other causes, are constantly in operation to throw the mass of the manufacturing population out of employment, and to put even the very best workmen on half work. The state of the weather and other peculiar causes, have the same effect in out-door employments ; so that it requires the constant effort, the almost unceasing labour of the whole of a family to keep the

average rate of wages at the sum mentioned, all the year round; when we have seen what this weekly income will furnish, and call to mind all the casualties to which the poor are constantly subject, we shall not be surprised that four or six millions annually for poor's rates are required.

Whether this low rate of wages is peculiar to the labouring population of Great Britain, is an interesting question connected with the present inquiry, as, in looking to the cause, it will help to determine whether it belongs to our particular institutions, or is the common feature in all the different States of Europe, whatever their form of Government, amount of Taxation, &c. We shall find, that the poverty of the working classes is common to all the countries of Europe, with very little variation as to the degree in which it exists. The people of Norway and Switzerland appear to be the most exempt from extreme poverty.\*

Of course, in considering the amount of wages received in other countries, it will be necessary to take into account, not only the money price, which may be of very different relative value to what it is in England, according to the amount of necessaries that it may furnish, but the quantity of work that is done for it. It will be also necessary in comparing the relative condition of the people of different nations, to consider what things may be called *necessaries* in each. Differences of climate, and, consequently, differences in the habits of the people, render the wants of one people no criterion for those of another, and a man would be starved in

\* See Mr. Laing's very interesting account of the Norwegians.



England with the lodging, food, and clothing, that would suffice to make him very comfortable in the south of Europe.

There are several writers who furnish information upon this subject. The following estimates are taken from Porter's "Progress of the Nation," chap. 4:—

**SWEDEN.** "The daily wages of artizans are 1s. 7d., and of skilled agricultural labourers 7d. or 8d., while the unskilled obtain no more than 3d. or 4d. Families can subsist upon their earnings. Agriculturists in the southern provinces live upon salt fish and potatoes; in the northern provinces, porridge and rye bread form their food. Pauperism has increased in a greater ratio than the population."

**DENMARK.** "A man with a wife and four children, who work every day of the week, including Sunday, earn among them about 12s. sterling per week. The principal food of the labouring people is rye bread, groats, potatoes, coffee, butter, cheese, and milk; provisions are cheap, and with prudence and economy, the earnings of a family are sufficient for their subsistence."

**MECKLENBURG.** "The wages of artizans vary from 7s. to 10s. 6d. per week in towns, and in the country they are about 1s. 3d. less. In addition to money wages, working men are boarded and lodged by their employers. Labourers in the country are paid 3s. 6d. per week, and have found for them a dwelling with a garden, pasture for a cow and two sheep in summer, and provender for them in winter. With these advantages they are enabled to procure a sufficiency of good sound food, and occasionally to indulge in the use of meat, which falls to the lot of very few of the working classes of the countries on the Continent of Europe."

**FRANCE.** "Mr. Scott, the British Consul at Bourdeaux, in his reply to the questions of the Poor-Law Commissioners, states, that a common labourer earns, all advantages included, £21. 12s., and that his wife and four children, aged 14, 11, 8, and 5, could earn about £12 more. That such a family could lay something by, as the wants of the lower classes are much fewer than in England. But from causes previously mentioned, that few of the peasants have any surplus at the end of the year; on the contrary, they are mostly in debt."

**HOLLAND.** "The amount of the annual earnings of a labouring

family here is stated to be from £12. 10s. to £18. 15s. Mr. Porter says, 'It should be borne in mind, however, that from the habits of the people, and the comparative cheapness of provisions in Holland, as compared with England, the expenditure of the smaller sum in the first-named of these countries, is more nearly equivalent to the larger payment than would at first appear.' "

BELGIUM. "A skilled artizan may earn in summer from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 5d. per day, and in winter from 10d. to 1s. 2d. If unskilled, artizans will earn little more than half these rates. With these wages, joined to what may be earned by the wife and children, a family may subsist on rye bread, potatoes and milk. It is but rarely that they can procure meat. In towns where manufactures are carried on, the situation of artizans is better than that just described. Agricultural labourers are generally boarded by the farmers with whom they work."

Mr. Jelinger Symons, in comparing the results of labour at Home and Abroad, gives us the means of estimating the above amount as compared with English money. He says,

"As a general proportion, (subject, however, to large variations,) we may perhaps assume, that in Switzerland 1s. will go as far for a working man as 1s. 3d. here; in France, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, as far as 1s. 4d. here; in Austria, and many parts of Prussia, as far as 1s. 5d. here; and in Wurtemberg, part of Austria, some of the Duchies, and Bohemia, as far as 1s. 8d. or 1s. 10d. here; always comparing towns with towns, and country with country, agricultural with agricultural districts, and manufacturing with manufacturing districts.

"TABULAR VIEW OF WAGES ABROAD AND AT HOME.

Classes of Labourers.	In France and Belgium, average weekly wages.	In England, average weekly wages.	Difference in favour of England after adding one-third for greater cost of food.
1st Class Mechanics.....	12s. 6d.	20s. 0d.	3s. 4d.
2d ditto ditto.....	9s. 0d.	14s. 0d.	2s. 0d.
Farm Labourers.....	6s. 6d.	10s. 0d.	1s. 4d.
Spinning Factory ditto, } men, women, & children }	6s. 3d.	10s. 6d.	2s. 2d."

With reference to this apparent cheapness of labour

abroad, Mr. M'Culloch says, (vol. 1, p. 666,) that "Mr. Cowell has shown the nugatory nature of the statements laid before the Factory Commissioners, as to the cheapness of foreign as compared with English labour. It may be true that a workman earns 30s. or 40s. in a given time in a mill in Manchester, and only 15s. or 20s. in a mill in France or Prussia. But what has this to do with the cost of labour? Arthur Young said that a labourer in Essex was cheaper at 2s. 6d. a-day than a labourer in Tipperary at 5d. Without knowing the quantity of work done in the mills of which we know the earnings of the workmen, we have no ground whatever for affirming that the labour performed by the one who gets the least money is really the cheapest." \* \* \* "Mr. Edwin Rose, who had been practically employed as an engineer in different factories in France and Germany, on being examined by Mr. Cowell, stated distinctly, that it took twice the number of hands to perform most kinds of factory work in France, Switzerland, &c., that it did in England; and that wages there, if estimated by the only standard good for anything—that is, by the *work done*—were higher than in England!"

There are many causes that make the standard of living necessarily higher in England than it is in most countries abroad; and if we estimate the condition of the operatives by the things absolutely necessary for them, and the incessant labour required to furnish them, there is little doubt, whatever may be the nominal rate of wages, that the condition of the working man in Britain is the worst.

But a statement of the rate of wages per week furnishes very little information generally, as to the

real condition of the poor ; and all the remarks that are commonly made upon the subject show that very few understand how this income is expended, or what it will furnish. If the poor require assistance, it is attributed to idleness, improvidence, or connexion with some party whose professed object is the improvement of their condition as a body ; and if one in a hundred, with more honest pride and independence than his neighbours, prefers quietly and secretly to endure the hard struggle with poverty, rather than to make a parade and a trade of his miseries, he is cited as a proof that the poor ought not to require assistance, for they are in reality well enough off, if they would but be content. Alas, let these censors look a little beneath the surface—let them ascertain “ how do poor men live,”\* and they will see in what this “ well off” consists. (The following are details of the weekly expenditure of some of the most industrious and frugal of the working families in this neighbourhood, (Coventry,) whose earnings are from 14s. to 20s. per week. It must be observed, however, that even the first-mentioned sum may be considered too high as a general average, if we take the year throughout, or a series of years, in which good and bad states of trade will always be included, although there are families who, by their joint earnings, make 20s. per week, and also a class of mechanics who realise as much, such, for instance as Curriers, Tailors, Plasterers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Painters, &c. ; but these constitute a very small part of the great body of the working class. ✓

\* There is an excellent article with this title in Tait's Magazine for January, 1839, which all ought to see who take an interest in the subject.

R R

Weekly expenditure of a family of five persons, man, wife, and three children, earning 14s. per week:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
House Rent ... ..	2	0	Brought up ...	9	0½
1½ cwt. of Coals ...	1	0	Potatoes, 3 lb per day, 21 lb	0	9
1 lb of Candles ...	0	6½	Sugar, 1½ lb ...	1	0
Soap, Soda, Salt, Pepper	0	4	(This is often mixed with a little warm water for dinner and supper, with bread.)		
Oatmeal ... ..	0	3	Tea or Coffee ...	0	4½
Milk, one pint each day	0	7	Bacon, Bullock's Liver, or other coarse meat ...	1	2
(This is mixed with water, and, with bread, generally serves the three children and father for breakfast.)			Clothes, Haberdashery, and mending Shoes...	1	8
Flour, 1½ stone, with Yeast and Baking ... ..	4	4		14	0
(This will make 27 lb of bread, and allowing only 3 meals per day, is only 4 oz. per meal, each person.)	9	0½			

For their clothing this class depend a great deal upon friends and charities, and the majority have no other bed than straw in bags of wrapping.

Weekly expenditure of a family of five persons earning 20s. per week:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
House Rent ... ..	2	6	Brought up ...	11	4½
Candles, 1¼ lb ...	0	8	Tea or Coffee ...	0	6
Coals, 1½ cwt. ...	1	0	Beer ... ..	0	3
Soap and Soda ...	0	5	(This is generally had on Satur- day and Monday nights, 1½d. each night.)		
Starch, Blue, Pepper, Salt	0	2½	Butter ... ..	1	1½
Milk, 7 quarts ...	1	2	Bread ... ..	4	0
Oatmeal ... ..	0	3	(This class eat less bread than those who earn less.)		
Cheese, 1½ lb ...	1	0	Rice or Sago ...	0	3
Meat 4 lb ... ..	2	0	Benefit Club ...	0	6
(Generally divided so as to serve for three dinners.)			Medicine ... ..	0	2
Bacon or coarse Meat ...	0	6	Clothes, Bedding, &c. ...	1	10
Potatoes, 18 lb ...	0	8			
Sugar, 1½ lb ...	1	0			
	11	4½			

\* The above are the prices which the poor are now paying, December 1839, in and about Coventry; provisions being, at the present time, very high.

As we before observed, the above is the highest estimate for the wages of artizans ; as it may be safely affirmed that the average rate of wages for a family of five persons, including all classes of labourers, and excluding the Irish, which would sink the estimate much lower, is not more than 14s. per week. Two-thirds, therefore, of the families of the working population of Great Britain have not £1 a-week to spend ; and yet who is prepared to say that the above is an extravagant outlay ; that any one of the articles enumerated as part of the weekly consumption of such a family, ought to be dispensed with ; who, indeed, will say, that there is enough for five people even of any one article ? Is 1s. 10d. per week, or £4. 15s. 4d. per year, enough to supply a family with decent clothing ? Will it supply to each member of it a Sunday suit, with hat, shoes, stockings, flannels, &c., to say nothing of bedding ? On the contrary, we know that the whole sum would but barely furnish the man alone with the requisites to make a respectable appearance ; notwithstanding the much-vaunted results of machinery, which have been said to put good and sufficient clothing within the reach of all. Again, can we say that the above expenditure for fire, candles, or meat, is exorbitant ? Nothing is allowed for beer—for the half-pint on Saturdays and Mondays, can scarcely be reckoned—and we see but too well that if this luxury were indulged in, it would grievously intrench upon the necessary items ; necessities which must be shared with the children, and are, therefore, far more important.

(Different families would, doubtless, have different modes of spending their 14s. or 20s. per week : the above details are merely intended to show what such

sums will procure under the management of a good housewife, and are valuable from their not being merely hypothetical, but furnished by artizans themselves as the actual mode in which they are accustomed to lay out their earnings.)

The first thing that strikes us in looking over their estimate, is, that the expenditure is quite up to the income; that, besides the 6d., in the latter case, to the Benefit Club, there is nothing laid by to enable them to meet those casualties which beset the poor on all sides, independently of that most serious and yet most common one, want of work. There is no provision for the very young children; none for settling the elder ones respectably in the world; none for old age;—but here it is sadly forced upon our observation how speedily nature provides for the aged poor in a manufacturing town; how seldom, indeed, is it permitted to the over-worked artizan to live out his threescore years and ten!

(The cry of improvidence is uniformly raised against the poor at periods of distress when their claims are more than commonly urgent; but it would be as well if those who think it a duty to exhort the poor to the practice of economy, as being the one thing needful to ensure to them continual prosperity, and to a habit of saving as the only safeguard against the day of adversity, would point out in what this economy is to consist, and where the saving is to begin.) It is true that by the exercise of some self-denial, an artizan of the lowest class may contrive to put by a small sum—a few pence weekly,—as has been proved by the experiment of Provident Societies; but it must be remembered that the chief benefit that such a man derives from his con-

nexion with one of these societies, consists in his being brought by it into intercourse with his rich neighbours, who have thus the opportunity of knowing and appreciating his character without any degrading efforts on his part to obtain their notice, and who are enabled to render him timely aid and kind offices, in a manner the least offensive possible to his self-respect; advantages which he may enjoy conjointly with the wholesome feeling that he is in some way entitled to them, from his own efforts after independence. The chief benefit does not consist in his having realized an efficient fund from his own savings. On the contrary, we know that however resolutely and perseveringly one of this class may put by a portion of his wages, the accumulated sum must necessarily be so trifling in amount, that the first casualty, an illness, or a burial, or a dearth of employment, soon swallows up the little fund, and leaves him burdened with debt.

And have not the poor motives enough to save, independently of the exhortations and advice of their more comfortable neighbours? Have they not the strongest that can appeal to human nature—the good of their children; their respectability amongst their fellows; their fear of the workhouse? Yet they do not, and they cannot provide against the evil day. No! providence there may be, economy there must be, but saving is next to impossible.

The above rate of wages not only furnishes no savings, but plainly allows nothing for all those comforts and luxuries which, though not absolutely essential to life, add so much to its value; and many of which a person in a middle station of society would pronounce it fairly impossible to subsist without. For instance,



books, newspapers, periodicals, (of which latter so many are published exclusively for the use and benefit of the poor), admittance to a place of worship, mechanics' institutions, lectures, theatres; postage and carriage; occasional relaxation from labour; excursions into the country; a little extra outlay for high days and holidays; good education for the children, which fourpence a-week will not furnish; proper medical attendance;—for although in the above estimate twopence per week is allowed for medicine, less than sevenpence a-week, the required subscription to a Self-supporting Dispensary, is too small a provision against sickness.

An examination of this sort, which shows what the means of even the first class of mechanics are equal to, is more likely to carry conviction and to instruct, so far as regards the real condition of the whole body of the poor, than pictures of local misery and distress which may be suspected to be exaggerations—as such pictures frequently are. We find that the wages of even the most fortunate among the operatives, furnish barely the necessaries of life, without allowing any surplus for those depressing circumstances that so often occur, and which frequently reduce a family, first to the second class, and then to the workhouse. It will not be found that we exaggerate if we state that the great mass of the working population is kept as near to the starving point as possible, and that their constant exertion is necessary to enable them to keep from sinking below it, and independent of charity and the workhouse. This will assist us, in part, to account for the fact that in those towns which possess many endowed charities, the condition of the working population is the worst. For so long as a poor man feels

that his only resource is in himself, necessity gives him strength, and his efforts to keep his head above water, although often painfully great, are seldom unsuccessful ; but no sooner does he find that there are charities to be had for the seeking, and he is tempted to run after them, and to trust to something besides his own unwearied exertions, than his resolution fails, his energies flag, and he begins to sink. It is true charity to help the poor to help themselves, but to weaken in any way their self-dependence is to inflict a positive injury.

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### SECTION III.

#### THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

It is very much the custom of political economists to represent the condition of the labouring classes as eminently prosperous, compared even with what it was in the middle of the last century. "The labouring classes," says Mr. M'Culloch, "have been the principal gainers (by the improvements in the arts and sciences), as well by the large numbers of them who have succeeded in advancing themselves to a superior station, as by the extraordinary additional comforts that now fall to the share even of the poorest families."\* That the improvements in the arts and sciences, and in machinery, have raised the condition of the middle, and increased the comforts of the upper classes—of all kinds of capitalists, there can be no doubt. That they have raised many to the middle that belonged to

\* Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. 2, p. 494.

the lower class, is equally certain. Neither can it be denied that the poor can now obtain many things that were considered as luxuries even to the rich, two centuries ago. And yet that the body of them <sup>is</sup> happier, and therefore better off, there is much reason to doubt. They judge of the condition of their class, not by what it was two hundred years ago, but by the condition of those above them. If they have more comforts, they have more anxiety; and such extra comforts, which, by the advance of the age, have become necessities, are earned only by more incessant labour.

We shall find also, on a close examination, that much of the apparent improvement that is observable in the condition of the poor, lies very near the surface.

“Among the popular fallacies employed to propagate the belief of the increasing prosperity of the labouring classes, are the Savings’ Banks. But we will venture to say, that labourers who are householders, rearing families, are rarely indeed contributors to these useful establishments; unless they have some extraneous source of income. We have demonstrated the utter impossibility of a married workman, in the ordinary trades, saving anything, unless he starve his family. A very large proportion of them are female servants and children, who are directed by their mistresses and friends to this means of placing their small savings. Instead of the wonted gown or cap, a present from a sensible mistress to a faithful servant, is now frequently a deposit receipt for a pound or two—the nest-egg of the future hoard. In examining the classes and description of depositors in a savings’ bank, in an English county, we find the greatest number to be female servants, who also hold the greatest amount of funds. There are also children, apprentices, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, seamen, clergymen, half-pay officers, revenue officers and pensioners, small farmers and females engaged in trade—probably single women—guards and drivers of coaches, and male domestic servants; but a small proportion of artificers, mechanics, and handicraftsmen, or of the labourers of husbandmen, and that small number, it is fair to conjecture, are

single men, saving that they may prudently marry, if ever a working man can prudently marry."

"Another common fallacy in looking to the condition of the labouring population, is the reduced price of all manufactured goods, and especially of clothing. The flimsy texture of the spurious wares which have deeply injured the character of British goods in every market of the world, and driven them from some, is never considered. A labourer's wife may now have four or five pretty-patterned cotton gowns for 4s. or 5s. each, where her grandmother's would have cost 20s.; but then it would have worn and washed out six of the gay and modern flimsy dresses; which, moreover, must cost four times lining and furnishing; and either the housewife's time, if she have the necessary skill, or else her husband's money to the mantuamaker. The same spurious economy holds of all articles of female, and many of male dress, used by the labouring class. How true is it that what is low-priced is not often cheap! But admitting that the pretty cotton gown and shawl, and the Sunday stockings of women and girls, are greatly cheaper, though worthless and flimsy, how does it stand with the more essential articles of clothing in our climate? We shall take the women's flannel and stuff petticoats and gowns; their warm, long-wearing shawls and cloaks, stout shoes, and worsted stockings. These, if good, and of lasting texture, are no cheaper—cannot be cheaper than those which labourers' wives formerly manufactured for themselves in their cottages, and now often go without, because they cannot afford to wear them, unless the lady of the manor deal out garments at Christmas. Articles of prime necessity to the comfortable condition of working men's families, are meat, beer, substantial woollen fabrics and good shoes; and these never have been cheap in wealthy, manufacturing England; and never can be, even in the best times, easily admissible to the labouring class in anything like reasonable plenty under the present system." \*

The operation of machinery upon the condition of the working classes, notwithstanding the great decrease in price of many of the necessities of life consequent upon its improvement, is clearly indicated in the follow-

\* Tait's Magazine, 1839, p. 21.

ing passage from Porter—article, Pauperism:—"Owing to the operations of the war and a succession of deficient harvests, the prices of almost all the articles required for the support of life were, at the beginning of this century, driven up to a distressing height, which state of things continued through the remaining period of the war, and for one or two years beyond its termination. Since then, the fall that has occurred in the prices of all the articles comprising the poor man's expenditure has been so great, that we may fairly estimate it to be fully equal to the simultaneous fall in the price of grain, so that the sum of 9s. 9d. in 1831, would have purchased as much as 17s. would have bought in 1801. Applying this test we shall find that the weight of pauper expenditure in proportion to the population at the two periods, was as 7 in 1831 to 4 in 1801." Now, although this may be in part accounted for from the injurious operation of a bad system of poor-laws, yet it is a sufficient indication that the labouring population in both town and country, were kept as near the starving point as possible. The sum expended for the relief of the poor in 1834 in England and Wales, among a population of 14,531,957, was £6,317,255.\*

We would avoid giving an exaggerated picture of the condition of the working classes, and pass over, there-

\* On the condition of the people, in both town and country, a great mass of information has been collected, which may be found in accounts published by the Statistical Society; in the Reports of the House of Commons on the Education, (1838,) and on the Health, (1840,) of the Poorer Classes in large Towns; in Dr. Alison's Report on the Poor of Scotland, and Mr. Alison on the Principles of Population; in Mr. Slaney's State of the Poorer Classes in great Towns; in the Reports of the Hand-Loom Inquiry, and of

fore, not as untrue, but as partial, the great number of heart-rending descriptions that are daily presented to us of the state of the labouring population in particular localities, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Huddersfield, and extensive agricultural districts.

the Poor Law Commissioners, &c.) We select the following from such statements :—

“ In London, one-tenth of the whole population are paupers, and 20,000 persons rise every morning without knowing where they are to sleep at night ; at Glasgow, nearly 30,000 persons are every Saturday night in a state of brutal intoxication, and *every twelfth house* is devoted to the sale of spirits ; and in Dublin 60,000 persons in *one year* passed through the fever hospital.”—Alison on the Principles of Population, vol. 2, p. 80.

“ The number of individuals charged with serious offences is in England five times greater than it was thirty years ago ; in Ireland six times ; but in Scotland 27 times.”—Ibid, vol. 2, p. 98.

“ The cost of punishing and repressing crime is calculated at above a million and a half sterling in England and Wales.”

“ The annual cost of vicious characters, of both sexes, throughout the country, is estimated at ten millions per annum ; the cost of 4,700 vicious characters in Liverpool alone was reckoned at £700,000 per annum.”

“ The outlay in drunkenness and in the use of spirituous liquors injurious to health, (after every allowance for reasonable conviviality,) is above fifteen millions per annum throughout the kingdom.”

“ The poor rates *now* amount annually to upwards of four millions per annum.”

“ Here, then, we have an enormous aggregate outlay, amounting to above thirty millions per annum, (equal to the whole interest of the national debt,) the cost of poverty and crime, to be gradually and constantly lessened, as we turn our exertions to the improvement of the physical and moral condition of the poorer classes.

“ The safest, the wisest, the cheapest way to support any given number of persons, from birth to death, is to teach the young, to encourage and assist the middle-aged, and to protect the old ; to induce the people to *exert themselves to support themselves*, and to

These accounts, however, show that if the average annual income of the poor be £30 or £40, that income is most unequally distributed so far as regards particular districts.

The following statements, descriptive of the condition

be frugal, industrious, provident for their own benefit. But to do this they must have fair play ; they must have reasonable encouragement, leading, and assistance ; they must be afforded the *means of gradually improving their condition*, and not doomed to constant toil to increase the general wealth, which they see fructifying and augmenting, while they are depressed and dispirited, confined to unhealthy habitations, amidst filth and wretchedness, and with no relaxation or amusement but the occasional excitement of drunken excess. Can any one deny that this is the case with multitudes of the poorer class in great towns ? It is vain and idle to say it is their own faults ; that they are reckless, improvident, dissolute. They are the children of the circumstances in which they are placed, and these circumstances speak aloud, and in a tone not to be mistaken, of the error or neglect of those whose duty and interest it was to have improved their condition.”—Mr. Slaney’s Reports of the House of Commons on the Education and Health of the Poorer Classes, &c., p. 11.

From the same source we quote also the following :—“ In Liverpool there are upwards of 7,800 inhabited cellars, occupied by upwards of 39,000 persons, being one-fifth of all the labouring classes in that great town ; and an account of undoubted veracity states, ‘ that the great proportion of these inhabited cellars were dark, damp, confined, ill-ventilated, and dirty. In Manchester, also, nearly 15,000 persons, being almost 12 per cent. of the working population, live in cellars ; and in the adjacent town of Salford, 3,300.’

“ The proportion of cases of fever occurring among the inhabitants of cellars is about 35 per cent. more than it ought to be, calculating the proportion of the inhabitants of cellars to the whole population ; the mortality of Liverpool was last year 1 in 33½. ‘ That of all England, 1 in 51, and of Birmingham, 1 in 60.’

“ Mr. J. Robertson, an eminent surgeon at Manchester, after

of the poor and of the effects of the incessant toil to which they are reduced, in the deterioration of the race in both bodily and mental constitution, were given by a physician of eminence, in a course of lectures on 'Education, delivered at the Philosophical Institution,

remarking that, when well fed, the families of working people maintain their health in a surprising manner, even in cellars and other close dwellings, states, 'That in 1833-4-5 and 6, (years of prosperity,) the number of fever cases admitted into the Manchester House of Recovery, amounted to only 421 per annum; whilst in two pinching years, 1838-9, the number admitted was 1,207 per annum.'

"In Leeds, with a population of above 80,000 persons, the state of the streets, courts, and dwellings inhabited by the working classes, appears greatly neglected; paving, sewerage, and cleaning, (as applicable to the health and comfort of these workmen,) seem seldom thought of, and never enforced; and the general conclusion of the Town Council is, 'that the greater part of the town is in a most filthy condition, which demands an immediate remedy.'

"Your Committee cannot help repeating their conviction, that, in addition to the physical evils which this want of the means of carrying off the refuse and impurities from their dwellings entails upon the poorer classes, it is impossible to deny, from the evidence before them, that their moral habits are affected by the same causes. That a constant residence in a tainted and polluted atmosphere, whilst it predisposes them to disease, and renders them less able to repel its attacks, also produces a degradation of moral character, an indifference to the common decencies of life, and an utter recklessness of all those comforts which persons in their station might be expected to enjoy.

"The effect of this utter prostration of energy, and of all the better feelings of the mind, has been to reduce multitudes, who might otherwise have passed with credit through their humble spheres, to have recourse to ardent spirits as a desperate alleviation of their wretchedness; and your Committee need hardly point out how surely this irresistible temptation leads, step by step, to habitual dissipation and debauchery."



Birmingham, in the spring of 1839, and their interest and value principally depend upon their being founded on personal experience, derived from long practice amongst the poor in both town and country. The enlightened and philanthropic lecturer defined the end of Education to be the improving and perfecting of every human being, in every bodily and mental faculty ; and his object in the following quotations was to show the counteracting circumstances which make education in this sense quite unattainable by the mass of the people.

“ The large manufactories of Lancashire, and some parts of Scotland, present a combination of all the evils incidental to the condition of a working man, and on a large scale.

“ Too early employment—too long employment—too much fatigue—no time for relaxation—no time for mental improvement—no time for the care of health—exhaustion—intemperance—indifferent food—sickness—premature decay—a large mortality.”

“ There is every reason to believe the frame of body and mind of persons employed in manufactories, where they are on their feet all the day, in a heated atmosphere, and living on poor diet, becomes so feeble and irritable, as to lead, as a matter of course, to intemperance and disorderly passions, and to an actual degeneration of the species ; so that the mortality becomes very great, and the sickly and imperfect state of a great proportion of the children who *are* reared, is such that a greater and greater deterioration in each generation is inevitable. The visitor to the large manufactories sees little of the misery they entail. The sick and feeble are at home ; in miserable houses or in cellars. Those who are present are interested by the coming of strangers, and their general appearance, it is only fair to state, bespeaks animation and pretty good health. The visitor sees them for half an hour, but he cannot forget that *as* he sees them—on their feet, and in continual although not perhaps, laborious exertion, they remain during the whole of every day except Sunday. For the consequences he must go to their homes ; he must inspect their food ; their lodging, accommodations ; he must observe what are their relaxations, and, if they can so be called, their pleasures. Still more—he must examine their children,

and particularly when all the causes acting upon them have brought them into the public Charitable Institutions; and then he will see what neglect and over-work can do for an industrious, and even an intelligent class of people.

“He will find these children, for the most part, not deficient in intelligence; but also for the most part, *sickly*. The remarkable thing, indeed, if the poorest children are looked at, in the workhouses and asylums, (the children of parents reduced to indigence, or gone to an early grave, entirely worn out,)—the remarkable fact is, that there is an *universal* appearance of sickness among them; a healthy face and figure is an exception:—the spectator is surrounded with pale, blue, flabby faces, inflamed eyes, diseases of the scalp. Many little creatures sit over the fire, with faces of old people; shrivelled, wasted, wretched objects, with slender limbs, a dry, harsh, loose, coarse skin; large joints, prominent eyes and jaws:—these little creatures are cold and feeble and fretful, and utter plaintive cries like a suffering animal. Ask the medical officers concerning these circumstances, and you will learn that the children are well fed, well lodged, well clothed, and allowed proper exercise in the open air, and the older children are instructed in a school. Education, physical and moral, is not neglected; but it is working on materials too imperfect to be much improved. The organization is frail and incomplete: the stock of life is barely sufficient for a few years. If the children are attacked with acute illness, they can neither bear the disease nor the remedies: the loss of a little blood is fatal to them. Chronic affections cling to them. Curative processes cannot be set up. The medicating power of Nature is not active in their frames. The tissues of their bodies are all unfinished pieces of Nature’s workmanship, and prone to disease; their hearts are feeble, and blood is not vigorously circulated, nay, it is not healthily elaborated in their bodies; and the regulating nervous system is as faulty as the rest of their economy. Herded together, without parental care, and the thousand little offices comforting to early childhood, their affections have a small range, and their countenances are blank and melancholy. They are even the victims of diseases never seen amongst the comfortable classes of society. Every common disorder leaves consequences not to be got rid of—measles and smallpox leaving ophthalmia and blindness.

“All this is distressing, but not wonderful. In many a region,

misery and exposure produce a marked physical degeneration, and even create diseases scarcely known in other circumstances.

"It might lead me away from my immediate subject, if I were to state how often epidemics of all kinds prevail among the poor alone. Yet you cannot be too often reminded that as such diseases find a reception in miserable courts and alleys, and from thence spread over the more happily circumstanced families, *so also* the moral infirmities allowed to grow among any part of a population, spread their infectious influence all around. There is, however, another, and a very large portion of our community, whose state, although often boasted of, is not, in my opinion, more favourable to the preservation of *perfect* life of body and mind than that of the manufacturing poor. I mean the labouring poor of agricultural districts. What I say concerning these poor people is the result of much observation of them, and I consider it a duty to lift the veil from a subject surrounded by many respectable prejudices. I know that they are kindly visited and assisted by the wealthier classes living in the country, and charity waits upon them in every shape, in sickness, or for the education and clothing of their children. Indeed but for this charity—and often, but for the boundless charity of the clergyman alone—the people would be utterly lost. But their extreme poverty, and their constant labour, so influence them, that the majority—I am sure I speak within bounds—have never the enjoyment of health after forty years of age. A thousand times in the course of dispensary practice, I have felt the mockery of prescribing medicines for the various stomach complaints to which they are so liable, and which are the product of bad food—insufficient clothing—wearing toil—and the absence of all hope of anything better in this world."

"The peasant's home is not the abode of joy or even of comfort. No 'children run to lisp their sire's return, or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.' The children are felt to be a burden, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and lying on beds worse than the lower animals; they are ragged or clothed by charity; untaught or taught by charity; if sick, cured by charity; if not starved, fed by proud charity; of which they bear the marks in the fantastic uniformity of their dress, or in the prison-look imparted by the general order under which they live, that their clustering hair shall be cut close to their heads, lest they should grow up fond of admiration. Observe their

look of humility, of discontent,—their abject curtseys. In such a habitation—in the poorhouse—is it possible to apply Physical and Mental Education? Its very elements are repelled from such a place. Dulness of the mental faculties, obtuseness of the moral feelings, and sickly bodies, can alone be formed.” \* \* \* “In agricultural districts, boys are very early employed in the fields; and their minds become utterly vacant. The scenes in which they live have no charms for *them*. They toil early and late in certain services; *never* live well; are condemned to poverty if they marry. For them also physical and mental education is quite out of the question.

“The girls are no better off—many of them work laboriously; and marry the poor labourers we have spoken of. Others become servants. Servants in under-ground or back kitchens—no out-of-door exercise—no friends—no followers—no visits to others—no mental or other variety—yet every virtue expected from them, and a good humour which not even the inconsideration and injustice and caprice of others can ruffle.”

“In the case of the manufacturing labourer, the necessary poverty is, I presume, by no means so pressing: their wages are better; they buy provisions in towns, at better advantage; but their exhaustion from over work, and their living surrounded by temptations to sensual gratifications, and particularly to intemperance, conspire to make them as destitute as the agricultural labourer. The latter, excluded from many temptations, *never* receives enough to support a family; his food is just sufficient to prevent divorce of soul and body for the best years of his sad life; if sickness assail him or his children he has no hope but the poor-house; and after toiling until he is old, the yawning poorhouse still awaits him. On the brink of that gulf he has ever been, and he sinks into it at last.”

“I lately accompanied a friend over a large and well-conducted Union Workhouse in an agricultural district. The persons whom I saw there were of two kinds; aged and helpless men who had toiled, as they do in most countries, with the certain prospect of pauperism before them all their lives long; and younger men, who appeared to be deficient in intellect. Of the women, several also were old and helpless; a few were young, and of these, several, I am inclined to think more than half, were idiotic. There were nurseries

and schools for the boys and the girls. In the nurseries I was shocked with the spectacle of little laughing idiots, the children of idiotic mothers; but in the older children, with a few exceptions so striking that one felt surprised to see them there, the children presented coarse features; their heads were singularly low and broad, as if they had a broad shallow brain; and in several instances the upper dimensions of the head were so evidently defective, that no one could help observing it. Every physiologist, nay, every ordinary observer, would say, of such a shaped head, that it was associated with very small intellectual power; and the figure of the head, taken with the faculties and expression of the face, was too manifestly such as every observer would say prophesied ill for the future character of the individual. Great care might possibly do much; but when you consider these evils of birth, and the unavoidable privations and neglect to which these human beings must be exposed as they grow up, the *awful* consideration presents itself that they are predoomed, from childhood—from birth—*before* birth—to ignorance and helplessness, or to crime; to the lowest toil—to want—to premature death, or to pauperism in age.

“As in the agricultural workhouse, we find the human brain brought to a very low state of development, and the faculties of the mind very limited, so in the manufacturing workhouse we find the results of causes of degeneracy acting on a population whose faculties are kept in greater activity, but whose bodies are deteriorated, and whose offspring are prone to every evil that belongs to an imperfect structure of every tissue of the body, and to the imperfect action of the organs which circulate the blood, or which elaborate the chyle, or which should renew and repair the perpetual waste; so that, even in them the brain cannot long continue healthy and efficient. If the children in the agricultural workhouse were taken out and brought up ever so carefully, I believe that a very small proportion of them would exhibit a capacity of much mental improvement. If the children in the manufacturing workhouse were separated, and brought up in families where every article of diet and regimen was very carefully attended to, many of them would be found incapable of continued life beyond a few years. They might escape some of the worst forms of disease which now carry them off in infancy, but a considerable portion would eventually perish of some form or other of tuberculous disease—consumption—

or disease of the mesenteric glands. With these, then, you see how limited must be the effects of the best physical and moral education that could be devised, even if it could be at once and in every case applied. And so long as these classes remain in this state, disease and premature death, and many moral evils which disfigure life, *must* be perpetuated. Of both these classes of the poor a proportion will still live to be thirty or forty, and become, unhappily, the parents of children who will inherit their infirmities of mind and body, and their tendencies to disease; until, by the gradual augmentation of the evil, successive families are extinguished. Less time is required for their total extinction than is commonly supposed. Sir A. Carlisle says, that where the father and mother are both town-bred, the family ends with the third generation.

“I am unwilling to accumulate painful images; it may be enough to quote the words of a very able writer on Medical Statistics, which point at several instances of human deterioration. ‘Life and death, then,’ says Dr. Bissett Hawkins, ‘mainly depend on the *prosperity* of the circumstances which surround us: physical prosperity and moral happiness, which often depend and re-act upon each other, present a safe-guard at every crisis of existence, both to individuals and to nations. We may often judge with tolerable accuracy of the mortality which is likely to exist in any given country, town, or hospital, from the degree in which poverty or wealth, knowledge or ignorance, misfortune or success, are seen to prevail. Wherever *want* or *misery* prevails, there the mother is more likely to die in labour, there still-births will be more frequent, there the deaths during infancy will be more numerous, there epidemics will rage with more violence, there the recoveries from sickness will be more tedious, and the fatal termination of it more probable; and there, also, will death usually approach at an earlier period of life than in happier situations.’

“My reason for dwelling on these points is, that I would fain show the mockery of expecting, by anything which philanthropy can devise, the production of mental power, or even of virtue, any more than of healthy bodies, in the children of a very considerable portion of all the most civilized communities of Europe, in their present condition; and that until this condition is so modified that the human economy can be healthily exercised, no physical education—no general instruction—no scheme of benevolence—can train these

children into healthy adults. *You cannot engraft virtue on physical misery.* To hope to plant Temperance, Forethought, Chastity, Content, in a soil where the body and soul are corrupting, where the materials of the body are advanced towards death, and incapable of the full actions of vitality, is the dream of benevolence. You must secure good food, clothing, lodging, and cheerful mental stimulus to *all* classes, before you can raise them above that condition in which they will be glad to forget their misery in any sensual gratification that offers. Until then, they must continue feeble and sickly, discontented and fretful, and prone to fly for consolation to stimulants; and, becoming parents, their children will inherit their imperfections, some dying early, and others living in such a state that at length, perhaps, the intolerable magnitude of the physical and moral evil may suggest a remedy, and the means of effecting that first object of education, the formation of a healthy and virtuous people.

“ It seems scarcely credible that in an age which, compared with feudal days, appears civilized, thousands of children are every year born only to be the prey and victims of disease, of early death or of public punishment; their parents not able to support the life they have created; and the wretched progeny being consigned, one may almost say, before birth, to fill the hospitals and jails; to be swept away by diseases from which all the comfortable classes are comparatively protected, or to linger out a wretched age in the poorhouse. There is no physiologist who, contemplating these things, can complacently conclude, that it is *not possible* to do something better for the health and life of *every* child that is born into the world.

“ I anxiously wish to avoid being betrayed into exaggeration on these points; and I would say, generally, that there are not many occupations which would be in themselves unwholesome, if it were not for the number of hours in which it is requisite for those to be employed who live by the labour of their hands, or even by the exercise of their minds, in business. The merchant's desk, the professional man's study, the author's library, the artist's studio, the manufactory, the shop, possess nothing deadly to mankind, if human beings are not too long in them at one time; or too laboriously exercised whilst there, or not exposed to fatigue at too early an age. It seems a sad result for an honest and industrious house-

painter, that his hands and feet should become paralysed, and that he should be liable to attacks of excruciating pain and delirium. It would seem cruel to consign a youth to such a business, but with care and cleanliness these results are, generally speaking, avoidable; and if time be allowed in which good air may be breathed; the working clothes laid aside; they may be altogether escaped. Scarcely any of the evils arising from trades and occupations are unavoidable in themselves. The circumstance, therefore, that constitutes the hardness of life of the working classes, is not so much the nature of their work; for in this, and the muscular or mental exertion required for it, there is actual benefit to the health, and pleasure to the sensations, and recreation to the mind; but it is the absorption of *life itself into labour*, so that the body and the mind are no longer educated, no longer heeded, when life's toil has fairly begun, and the health of both must be sacrificed, and men *must die to live*."

"It would occupy too much time to take even the most passing view of the poor of large cities *not* employed in manufactures. Dr. Bateman, who wrote so much and so well on the diseases of London, tells us, what we may well believe, that in hot weather their houses are so heated and ill-ventilated, as to produce a state of faintness, depression of spirits, langour, pains in the back and limbs resembling those from fatigue, a fluttering in the region of the stomach, vertigo, tremors, cold perspirations, and various symptoms of indigestion; with a feeble pulse. Impure air, fatigue and anxiety, contribute, he says, to produce these effects; which they chiefly do in woman. How these must influence the temper, affections, and habits, and how interfere with the proper care of their children's bodies and minds, I am sure you will readily imagine.

"Visit the same poor people in winter; you will find every cranny closed, and fever carrying off its victims in great numbers.

"Often, very often doubtless, moral evils flow from hence to the better quarters of the town, and poison the peace of happy families: often, very often, the infection of fevers there cherished, floats over the luxurious parts of the capital, and awakens the great and wealthy to the sense of the common lot of humanity.

"Nor can we from these evils ever be free until *all* receive the benefits of physical, and moral, and mental education, which they *cannot do* so long as they are steeped to the lips in poverty."



duce of the soil to the lords of Petersburg and Moscow, while the cultivators who raised it are in want of the necessaries of life.' ”

“In the rich and fertile plain of Lombardy, where three crops annually repay the labour of the husbandman, and the means of perpetual irrigation are afforded by the streams that descend from the adjoining mountains, want and indigence generally prevail among the peasantry. Inhabiting a country which abounds in wine, it is seldom they drink anything but water: their clothing is scanty and wretched; their dwellings destitute of all the comforts of life. On the public roads, in the villages, in the cities, the traveller is assailed by multitudes of beggars, whose squalid looks and urgent importunity attest but too strongly the abject distress to which they are reduced. On the mountains, as on the plains, he perceives the traces of a numerous population, and the benignity of the climate clothes the wooded slopes with innumerable villages, whose white walls and elegant spires give a peculiar charm to Italian landscape; but within their walls he finds the well-known features of public misery, and the voice of distress supplicating for relief, in scenes which, at a distance, appear only to teem with human happiness.”

“Provisions are incomparably cheaper in Poland and in Russia than in this country; but are the Polish or Russian peasants half as comfortably fed, lodged, or clothed, as the corresponding classes in this country? Every one knows that, so far from being so, or obtaining any benefit whatever from the cheap price of provisions in their own country, they are in truth the most miserable labourers in Europe, and feed upon scanty meals of rye bread, in the midst of the splendid wheat crops, which they raise for the more opulent consumers in this country. In the southern provinces of Russia, wheat is often only ten shillings a quarter, from the total want of any market. But what is the consequence? Why, that wages are so low that the Cossack horseman gets only eight shillings and sixpence a-year of pay from government. Wheat and provisions of all sorts are much cheaper in Ireland than in Great Britain; but nevertheless, the Irish labourers do not enjoy one half of the comforts or necessaries of life which fall to the lot of their brethren on this side of the Channel.”

“The mere necessaries of life are sold almost for nothing in Hindostan and China, but, so far from obtaining any benefit from

that low rate of prices, the labouring classes are so poor as to taste hardly anything but rice and water ; and wages are so low, seldom exceeding two-pence a-day, that every sepoy, foot-soldier, and horseman, has two, and every native, three attendants to wait upon his person.”\*

To the friend of humanity it affords, however, unspeakable consolation to reflect, that if there is any truth in the principles advocated in the former parts of this work, the evils we have been considering are not a necessary part of human nature, nor irremediable. That such is the case may be inferred from the advance already made, from the improved physical condition of the upper and middle, and in some respects even of the lower, classes of society as compared with what it was a century ago. The tables of mortality show a great increase in the average term of human life.

“ In 1700 the mortality in London was 1 in 25

1751 ... .. 1 “ 21

1801 ... .. 1 “ 35

1811 ... .. 1 “ 38

1821 ... .. 1 “ 40

In 1801 in England and Wales ... 1 “ 44

1811 ... .. 1 “ 50

1821 ... .. 1 “ 58

1831 ... .. 1 “ 52”†

Various epidemics and diseases have entirely disappeared.

“ There died of the plague in London,

In 1348 about 100,000

1563 “ 20,000

1592 “ 15,000

1603 “ 36,000

In 1625 about 35,000

1636 “ 10,000

1665 “ 68,596 !

“ And this was the last—what the Court never thought of, the Fire of London effected.”

\* Alison, vol. 1, pp. 202, 200, 435, 454 ; vol. 2, 419, 420.

† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 222.

Life has been lengthened in proportion as man's knowledge of the Physical and Organic laws, and his obedience to them, have increased, and we trust to show that nothing more is necessary to remove the numerous evils that now afflict society, and the working classes in particular, than a similar knowledge of, and obedience to the Moral Law, which requires that all our Institutions should be framed in accordance with the happiness of the greatest number. In proportion as we succeed in doing this, we shall find that moral evil will disappear from the face of the earth, like those physical calamities which have given way before science and increased knowledge of the laws of Nature.

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE MEASURES PROPOSED FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

ALTHOUGH the labouring population constitute the majority of the people in all countries, yet have their interests and condition been strangely neglected. Governments, with respect to most of their acts and proceedings, would scarcely seem to be aware of their existence, excepting as a necessary part of the machinery of the country for the production of wealth; and their wrongs might for ever remain unredressed, did not the extreme of them at times compel this class to become troublesome, and consequently important to the State. (With Political Economists production is the grand object; distribution being left to find its own level; although it is evident, that if distribution be still left to find its own level, as it has hitherto done, the world may be filled with goods by the aid of machinery, whilst those who have nothing to give but their labour in exchange, may want all the necessaries of life.) The two great divisions of what is called "civilized society," consist of those who possess property, and those who live only by the wages of labour, and it has been usual to consider the interests of both classes as one; yet nothing is more certain than that those vast physical resources and improvements which have so much increased the comforts of one class, have done little or nothing for the other. Of the immense masses of wealth produced

in Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, and others of our large manufacturing towns, but little has fallen to the share of the working classes, for it is there that poverty, with its accompanying vice and misery, exists in all its most aggravated forms. Rents have risen 50 per cent. within the last fifty years,\* and the condition of the agricultural labourer is the same as it was before, or but little improved. The property of the fund-holder, and all property, has increased with the increased powers of production, but all facts show that this advantage has not yet been shared with the working class as a body.

The evils arising from the present imperfect condition of the people are now forcing themselves into general notice ; and all parties have their remedies, in Politics, in Emigration, in Education, in Religion, in Social Reform ; and in examining how far these remedies are likely to prove efficacious, we must keep in mind that they are to be judged of according to their bearing upon the condition of the working classes ; not upon the powers of production : we must consider also, not only whether the proposed measure is good in the abstract, but how far it is applicable to and practicable in present circumstances.

It generally happens that those whose station gives them an influence over public opinion, are too much engaged with their own individual interests to give the subject the attention that it deserves. They are born to some party in politics, as in religion, and not seeing how the condition of the people around them immediately affects their own, they seldom examine either into its real state, or into its cause ; but satisfy them-

\* M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 536.

selves with the opinions prevalent, and the measures proposed by the sect or party to which they belong.

Of Strikes, Trades' Unions, and all combinations of workmen against the capitalists, we have seen in numberless instances the utter failure; the capitalist being always able to starve the workman into taking the offered terms; terms, dictated by the demand for labour.

Political Unions can at present do little more. Supposing it to be granted that they were mainly instrumental in obtaining a Reform in Parliament; yet questions having direct reference to the condition of the people are seldom brought forward in this Reformed Parliament; and if little has been said, still less has been done.

The late union of the working men for the purpose of obtaining what is called the Charter, the chief object of which is an extended suffrage, has demonstrated how utterly incapable this class is of undertaking the management of its own affairs. Whatever may be the opinion with respect to the desirableness of placing political power in the hands of the majority, it cannot be doubted, that in the hands of a majority such as our working classes in their present condition constitute, it would tend more to their injury than benefit. "Order, Heaven's first law," would soon cease to exist. Whatever exception may be made in favour of some few amongst them who have far outstripped their brethren in reason and intelligence, it may be asserted that, as a class, they have no knowledge of the foundations upon which society is built; of the steps by which we have arrived at our present stage in civilization; of the necessity to the advancement of the race, of that

which now strikes us as a glaring abuse; of the mutual sacrifice of our natural liberty which is hourly called for, to ensure to us the advantages of living in society at all. They have no knowledge of the causes of the evils that oppress them, and where, therefore, the remedy should be sought. Scarcely any two among them agree as to what should be done, had they the necessary power, and they are consequently led away by every demagogue who can put sufficient energy and unction into his holdings forth, and who has his own especial quack medicine for the diseases of the State. It is quite impossible, as society is now constituted, that they, with their limited means of acquiring information, and the incessant toil to which they are subjected, can acquire sufficient knowledge for their own governance, or perhaps even to choose those who are qualified. Legislation requires more knowledge than any other profession. A legislator ought to be intimately acquainted with the constitution of human nature; the constitution of society; the history of civilization; with the particular character of the people, and of the institutions of the country for which he would legislate. This is a knowledge to be acquired only by long and arduous study, the time for which is denied to the multitude. Universal suffrage, including all that can make that suffrage available, will be excellent and necessary, when the people know how to use it; but a great improvement in their physical condition must take place before this can be the case. They must be emancipated from the thralldom of the capitalist, before any mere governmental changes can materially affect their condition. Changes brought about by the representatives of the people in ignorance of the

causes of oppression, would only make things worse, by affecting the order, tranquillity, and security necessary to the spread of knowledge, and to the improvement which can be based only upon such knowledge.\*

**POLITICS.**—The great body of reformers throughout the country are looking to political reform, to governmental changes, to effect our relief from the evils under which we suffer; and the periodical press may be said almost exclusively to represent this party. But in all countries the condition of the great body of the people—of the working classes, is, with but slight differences, the same. In all the wages of labour are, relatively to what such wages will purchase, equally low and insufficient: and yet some of these countries possess all for which liberal politicians of this school are contending. Is not this, therefore, evidence of some fallacy in the views

\* “The most common error in the present day consists in supposing that the people in general are to be influenced, even in regard to contemporaneous events, by their reason; whereas they are entirely governed in their opinions on such topics, by their interests, their prejudices, or their passions. The Girondists, in the Legislative Assembly of France, confidently expected that, by the force of their arguments, they would bear down the efforts of the Jacobins; but events soon proved that where popular passions are roused, the force of demonstration itself is speedily destroyed by the contests of faction. This consideration furnishes an unanswerable argument against the extension of the elective franchise to the great body of the people. It has no occasion to be illustrated by argument; experience everywhere demonstrates its truth; and mankind will in the end be generally convinced, that to subject the Legislature to the *direct* influence of the multitude, is to subject them in periods of tranquillity to the contentions of interest, and in moments of agitation to the storms of passion.”—Alison, vol. 2, p. 286.



of this party, if indeed the object of their measures be to raise the condition of the people? In questioning, however, whether the measures of what is called a liberal and enlightened policy do often or always conduce to this end, and in endeavouring to show their exact bearing upon the condition of the people, we would not wish to appear to condemn such measures, or to represent them as containing no good. It is impossible not to be aware of, and to appreciate, the benefits that have been and will be conferred by them upon all possessing property; it is obvious also that increased production must reflectively, and in a minor degree, benefit those who have no property, but who live by the wages of labour; and that it will raise many of the latter class into the former: but that such policy will not materially ameliorate the condition of the majority, may, we think, be demonstrated.

First amongst the remedies of this class to which the people are taught to look for relief, is the lessening of Taxation, cheap Government, and the taking off the duties on everything that the working man finds necessary for the support of his family. The national debt and our heavy taxation, it is said, press down our people into the dust. But in those countries where there is no national debt, and where taxation is light, is the condition of the people better? It appears a hard thing that the working man should have to pay at least 7s. of every guinea that he earns, in direct or indirect taxation. Lodging, meat, beer, clothing—everything is taxed, and out of an income of £50, he pays perhaps £17 towards the government of his country, and the interest of its national debt. And yet, supposing the same rate of taxation to affect the capitalist, and

that his income is £1000 a-year, he pays only £333, leaving in the one instance, £34 a-year, and in the other, £667 ; it thus reduces one party to the point of starvation, and leaves the other with every means of luxury. But were the working classes relieved from all taxation, and were those who are so much better able to bear the burden made to do so, how would it affect the former ? At first, and for some little time, the operative would find that his guinea per week would go much farther in supplying his wants ; it would not only yield necessaries, but comforts. But soon the inevitable fluctuations in trade, and a lessened demand for labour, would throw him out of employment, and in order to obtain his share of the work that remained, he would necessarily offer his labour for less and less remuneration, until within a short period his wages would again be reduced to the starving point,—as we find to be the case in other countries where the necessaries of life are cheap.

One advantage he would derive—but that would also be fleeting, although, perhaps, not equally so—the demand for his labour would be more steady in consequence of additional markets abroad being opened to his employer. This, however, in many cases, would throw people out of employment elsewhere, or if their wages admitted of any reduction, would grind them down to meet this additional competition.

These observations apply, of course, to the present prevailing question of Corn Law or no Corn Law ; that is, as much to the tax on bread as to any other. It is unjust to a country that bread should be made dear that rents may be high, particularly as it is allowed that rents have risen full 50 per cent. in the last half century ;

but let not the working classes suppose that the abolition of this tax, any more than that of any other, would in the end be of much benefit to them. "The money-rate of wages, wholly independent of the price of provisions from year to year, is entirely regulated by it, other things being equal, from ten years to ten years."\*

Under the present system the working classes are merely the instruments of production, and to relieve them of taxation would have exactly the same effect upon production as improvements in machinery; as they would be able to live for less, they would be enabled to produce for less. This would lead to increased demand, depending, of course, upon the cheapness of the produce. No increase, therefore, of wages would take place, but a great increase of population, similar to that which has taken place in Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, and other large towns, where improvements in machinery, and our consequent power of producing cheaply, have enabled us to command extensive markets. But in a short time population would be upon a par with this increased demand, and foreign competition, over-speculation, fluctuating currencies, and all the various causes that disturb our commercial atmosphere, would again throw the people out of employment, and produce all the distress for which we now seek a remedy.

✓ ( The great political questions of the day are questions concerning more or less representation—more or less taxation—whether this or that section of the aristocracy shall have power and patronage; but they are not questions that tend ultimately to raise the condition of the people; the utmost that we can expect from the satis-

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 418.

factory solution of them is, that by enabling us to produce more cheaply, increased demand may give employment to the working classes for a time, when otherwise there would be none, and thus afford leisure to introduce gradually and securely other measures which can alone be effectual to the desired end.)

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.** It is upon the theories of the political economists that the creed of reforming politicians is principally based. Their expectation is that improved education, and increased habits of prudence and economy, will ultimately induce the working classes to keep population within the means of support.\* Not the support which their own labour would furnish, had it a profitable direction, but the support which it is the interest of the capitalist, in the present artificial relations of society, to afford. The main object of this party is to increase production—to multiply capital; and as the most direct means to this object, they look to perfect freedom of trade, the abolition of all monopolies, bounties, and prohibitions, by which all trade would be made to flow into its natural channels; each country furnishing that for which nature has best qualified it, and which costs, therefore, the least labour to produce, that we may no longer be obliged to grow

\* “The result to be aimed at is to secure to the great body of the people all the happiness which is capable of being derived from the matrimonial union, without the evils which a too rapid increase of their number involves. The progress of legislation, the improvement of the education of the people, and the decay of superstition, will, in time, it may be hoped, accomplish the difficult task of reconciling these important objects.”—*Mill's Elements of Political Economy*, p. 58.

wheat upon land unfitted for it, any more than we should attempt to grow grapes and oranges in our northern latitudes. Free trade so far would be undoubtedly the true policy, and would benefit all, if the labourer received his due share of the produce. As a general principle, no more labour should be spent in production than is absolutely necessary, and articles ought never to be produced in one country, that can be obtained at a less cost through the medium of exchange with another. But this policy, as society is now constituted, tends to make a nation great only in the sense of the political economists, i. e. to increase its power and resources; to multiply its ships and navies; to enlarge its rents and profits, and means of paying taxes; to add to the number, wealth, and importance of its merchants and manufacturers, and of all capitalists; but to leave all who live by labour alone, in little, if any, better condition than they were before. It is even possible that it might leave them worse than they were before. While individual advantage only continues to be pursued, free trade would not be confined to the exchange of one nation with another, of that which each nation was best fitted by nature for growing or manufacturing, but would lead to the competing of each with the other in trade and manufactures for which they might possess nearly equal natural advantages. This would throw each open to the competition of the whole world, and would reduce everything to the lowest possible price; and although this might double and triple the means of those who possess property, it would not benefit the working man, because, in order to effect this reduction in goods, his wages must be reduced to the lowest possible rate also. It could only then be by getting goods

produced cheaply that manufacturers could employ their capital to advantage ; and if any circumstances were to raise the price of wages, they must be thrown out of the market. Why do our manufacturers at the present time desire the repeal of the Corn Laws ? Principally that the operative may be able to live for less, and that, therefore, by a reduction of wages, they may bring their goods cheaper to the foreign markets, which would otherwise be closed upon them. With our superiority in machinery and manufacturing skill, free trade would much increase our production, and if the labourer had his due share of the profits instead of being paid in the shape of wages, it would benefit him as well as the capitalist. We must not forget, however, that this result would be owing to our manufacturing supremacy, and would last only so long as that was maintained, but should any circumstances tend to lower that supremacy and turn the scale against us, we ourselves should be driven from those markets from which we now drive others, or into which, at least, we prevent their entering.

The question of Free Trade is nearly identical with that of Taxation ; and in the practical bearing of each upon the condition of the operatives, the establishment of the one and abolition of the other, would be the same. To abolish monopolies and to remove prohibitions is to take off indirect taxes : but there would be also the farther effect of opening fresh markets upon the reciprocity system ; thus increasing the cheapness of all articles, (because produced at less cost,) and the demand for them at the same time. With an increased demand for goods would come an increased demand for labour, and this, say the advocates of free trade, would

raise wages and the condition of the operatives. Reasoning abstractedly, Malthus's theory with respect to the increase of population, would appear irrefutable; the only argument against it is, that all facts from the beginning of the world to the present time prove it to be based on false premises; for as comforts and artificial wants are generated, checks come into operation which Mr. Malthus leaves entirely out of his calculation. So also with respect to the question before us, abstractedly reasoning, it would seem obvious that a great increase in the demand for labour would considerably raise wages and the condition of the operative, but have we not sufficient facts before us to show that this would not be the case excepting in a very limited degree? In agricultural labour, such might be the result, but in manufacturing labour it would appear that the operation of machinery, and other causes affecting trade which we have before mentioned, would always be sufficient to counteract the natural effect of an increased demand for labour—or rather, machinery would always be multiplied to supply that demand.

We must bear in mind that the principal advantages to be derived from free trade are increased cheapness and increased demand from extended markets. Now Manchester possessed all the advantages in this respect that free trade could possibly give to any town or country. Improvements in machinery by Watt and Arkwright, and peculiar advantages of situation opened to it the markets of almost the whole world. It was enabled to import its raw material from India, to manufacture it, to send it back again, and yet undersell the Indian who works for twopence per day, in his own market. In this department of cotton-spinning, the improve-

ments in machinery enabled one man to do the work that it required 200 men to do before; and here one would think that if the extra produce were divided fairly between the capitalist, or owner of the machine, and the operative, there was plenty of room for the improvement of his condition. But did it increase his leisure? No. Were his wages increased for doing 200 times more than he did before? But very little: for the competition for employment of those who were at first thrown out of work by the extra productiveness of the machine, obliged him to work the same number of hours, and to be satisfied with nearly the same rate of wages as before. Where then was the advantage? The extra number of pieces produced went to the warehouse of the capitalist, and by reducing them in price, he forced them all over the markets of the world. The reduced price occasioned a greatly increased demand; capital flowed in that direction; manufacturers and merchants multiplied and grew rich; and the number of hands employed, instead of being ultimately decreased, was increased until it reached the number of about 1,200,000,\* with whose condition Parliamentary enquiries have made us but too well acquainted.

The greatest advocates for freedom of trade can scarcely expect that it can do more for the country at large, than improvements in machinery and other peculiar local advantages have already done for Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and some other of our large manufacturing towns, and as the question is one of peculiar moment and interest, and one towards which the country is looking with great expectation, we shall state what is said, on good authority, of the condition of the

\* M'Culloch, vol 1, p. 658.



people in such towns. The following description is given of those employed in the cotton factories, by Dr. Kay:—

“THE FACTORY SYSTEM.—The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight, and returns home for half an hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely, used, and chiefly by the men; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rate of wages, this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard or butter is poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate, or they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock, or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits, accompanied by a little bread. The population nourished on this aliment is crowded into one dense mass, in cottages separated by narrow, unpaved, and almost pestilential streets, in an atmosphere loaded with the smoke and exhalations of a large manufacturing city. The operatives are congregated in rooms and workshops during twelve hours of the day, in an enervating, heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employs their physical energies. They are drudges who watch the movements, and assist the operations of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the

machine. Hence, besides the negative results, the total abstraction of every moral and intellectual stimulus, the absence of variety, banishment from the grateful air and the cheering influences of light, the physical energies are exhausted by incessant toil and imperfect nutrition. Having been subject to the prolonged labour of an animal—his physical energy wasted, his mind in supine inaction—the artizan has neither moral dignity, nor intellectual nor organic strength to resist the seductions of appetite. His wife and children, too frequently subjected to the same process, are unable to cheer his remaining moments of leisure. Domestic economy is neglected—domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. Himself impotent of all the distinguishing aims of his species, he sinks into sensual sloth, or revels in more degrading licentiousness. His house is ill-furnished, uncleanly, often ill-ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he is debilitated and hypochondriacal, and falls the victim of dissipation."

"The City of Glasgow exhibits so extraordinary an example, during the last fifty years, of the progress of population, opulence, and all the external symptoms of prosperity, and at the same time of the utter inadequacy of all these resources to keep pace either with the moral or spiritual wants of the people, or provide adequate funds for the alleviation of their distresses, that it is deserving of particular consideration.

"It appears from Dr. Acland's admirable Statistics of Glasgow, that Population, Custom-House Duties, Harbour-Dues, and Post-Office Revenue of the City, have stood, in the undermentioned years, as follows:—

Years.	Population.	Custom-House Duties.	Harbour Dues.	Post-Office.
1770	31,000		£149 0 10	£33,771
1801	83,769	£3,124 in 1812	3,319 16 1	23,328
1831	202,426	72,053 17 4	20,296 18 5	35,642
1839	290,000	468,974 12 2	45,287 16 10	47,527

"This prodigious increase is probably unprecedented in any other

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country in Europe during the same or perhaps any other period, and a parallel to it is only to be found in the transatlantic provinces. It is a fact well worthy of observation, that the progress of population in New York from 1820 to 1830, was as nearly as possible the same as that of Glasgow from 1830 to 1840; both cities at the commencement of the respective periods having 200,000 inhabitants, and having increased to 290,000 at their close. (Chevalier's America.) Here then, if anywhere, was to be found an example where, in consequence of the prodigious and unprecedented prosperity of the place, ample scope was afforded for the voluntary system, whether in religious instruction or temporal relief. And that the merchants of Glasgow are at least equal to any in Europe, in the benevolence and liberality with which, on all important occasions, they come forward for the relief of the distress by which they are surrounded, or for any purpose of public charity or munificence, is amply proved by the following list of subscriptions made by them annually, or for the last seven years:—

For Church Extension ... ..	£42,300
House of Refuge for young Criminals ... ..	14,800
Female House of Refuge ... ..	4,800
Normal School ... ..	4,900
Infirmary, annually, £4,500 in seven years ...	31,500
Wellington Testimonial ... ..	9,500
Relief of Poor in 1837 ... ..	7,000
In seven years ... ..	<u>£114,800</u>

“Nevertheless, so far are these splendid subscriptions from being able to keep pace with the progress of destitution and suffering in Glasgow, that, as already mentioned, there are no less than 80,000 persons for whom there is no accommodation whatever for attending any place of religious worship, of whatever persuasion, in the city and suburbs. About £20,000 a-year are levied for the support of the poor in the city and suburbs, in addition to innumerable private charities, and much individual beneficence. Yet in spite of all this munificence the following is the account given of the state of the most destitute part of the community, by two most competent observers, whose valuable works, well known to the public, have gained for them both an extensive and well-earned reputation. ‘Glasgow exhibits,’ says the able and indefatigable Dr. Cowan, ‘a

frightful state of mortality, unequalled, perhaps, in any city in Britain. The prevalence of fever presents obstacles to the promotion of social improvement among the lower classes, and is productive of an amount of human misery credible only to those who have witnessed it. (Cowan's Vital Statistics of Glasgow, p. 14.) The extraordinary progress of mortality which has, as already shown, declined from 1 in 41 in 1823, to 1 in 24 in 1837, while the annual average mortality of London is about 1 in 36, and over all England 1 in 51, affords too melancholy a confirmation of this observation. And the following is the account given of the Glasgow poor by a very intelligent observer, Mr. Symonds, the Government Commissioner for examining into the condition of the hand-loom weavers: 'The wynds in Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dunghill reeking in the centre. Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging-rooms, (visited at night,) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor, sometimes fifteen or twenty, some clothed and some naked; men, women, and children, huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in these places; the sole article of comfort was a fire. Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population. No pains seem to be taken to purge this Augean pandemonium; this nucleus of crime, filth, and pestilence, existing in the centre of the second city of the empire. These wynds constitute the St. Giles of Glasgow; but I owe an apology to the metropolitan pandemonium for the comparison. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the Continent, never presented anything one half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent proportioned to the population.'—*Arts and Artizans at Home and Abroad*, p. 116.\*

“Of all the effects which the progress of civilization produces, there is none so deplorable as the degradation of the human character which arises from the habits of the manufacturing classes.

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 87.

The assemblage of large bodies of men in one place; the close confinement to which they are subjected; the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes at an early period of life; and the debasement of intellect which arises from uniformity of occupation, all conspire to degrade and corrupt mankind. Persons unacquainted with the manners of the lower orders in the great manufacturing cities of Britain, can form no adequate conception of the habits which prevail among them. In Glasgow, at this moment, (1840,) there are 3000 public-houses among 290,000 persons included in 58,000 families; being nearly one public-house for every 20 families. The number of inhabited houses is about 30,000, so that every tenth house is appropriated to the sale of spirits: a proportion unexampled, it is believed, in any other city of the globe. This number has risen from 1600 since the year 1821, though not more than 140,000 souls have been, during the same period, added to the population. Seasons of adversity lead to no improvement in the habits of these workmen; the recurrence of prosperity brings with it the usual attendants of profligacy and intemperance. Ten or twenty workmen are more or less intoxicated every Saturday, and for the most of Sunday; every farthing which can be spared is too often converted into ardent spirits. The same individuals who, a year before, were reduced to pawn their last shreds of furniture to procure subsistence, recklessly throw away the surplus earnings of more prosperous times in the lowest debauchery. The warnings of religion, the dictates of prudence, the means of instruction, the lessons of adversity, are alike overwhelmed by the passion for momentary gratification. It seems the peculiar effect of such debasing employments, to render the condition of men precarious at the same time that it makes their habits irregular: to subject them at once to the most trying fluctuations of condition, and the most fatal improvidence of character.

“ The prevalence of such habits is in the highest degree dangerous to the increase of mankind. Nothing more ruinous to public welfare can be imagined than the existence of a large body of men in the State, whose employment is uncertain, while their passions are uncontrolled: whose increase, like that of the lower animals, is wholly uninfluenced by the dictates of reason, and who are steady in nothing but the indulgence of desire. Experience has proved accordingly, that the proportion of marriages in these classes is

much greater than in the agricultural districts; and the increase of population is still more rapid, as the dissolution of manners has multiplied to an incredible degree the number of bastards.”\*

“It has been the well-known policy of Great Britain for the last century and a half to encourage, by every means in its power, the manufacturing industry of its people, and this policy ably and steadily pursued, and accompanied with the advantages of our cool, insular situation, and free constitution, have produced the immense results over which, in one view, we have reason to exult, and in another to lament. It is utterly impossible that this unparalleled growth of our manufacturing industry can co-exist with the firm foundation of public prosperity. Its obvious tendency is to create immense wealth in one part of the population, and increased numbers in another; to coin gold for the master manufacturer, and multiply children in his cotton mills; to exhibit a flattering increase in the exports and imports of the empire, and an augmentation as appalling in its paupers, its depravity, and its crimes.”†

The character of the Glasgow weavers, which once stood deservedly high, has been sadly deteriorated. In the admirable report of the suburban Burgh of Calton, presented to the British Association by Mr. Rutherglen, a Magistrate of that Burgh, we find the following remarks:—

“From personal experience,” says the Secretary to the Glasgow Statistical Society, “as well as from the information of others intimately acquainted with the subject, the writer is able to state, that the religious, moral, and intellectual condition of the weavers was long of a very high grade; and even yet the writer is of opinion that the elder portion of them ranks higher in these respects than any other class of tradesmen. But as poverty prevents many of them from attending public worship, and still more, from educating their children, there can be little doubt that their character is fast deteriorating, and that their children will be in a still more deplorable condition.

“There is a series of crimes, or, as they are more gently called, embezzlements, carried on both in the city of Glasgow and suburban

\* Alison, vol. 1, p. 190.

† Ibid, p. 519.

districts, to an alarming extent, and which are attended with very baneful effects, and indeed it is impossible to form an idea of the amount of property, in pig and scrap iron, nails, brass, &c., stolen in this way. A gentleman who has had much experience in the tracing of these cases, has given it as his opinion, that at the Broomielaw, and on its way for shipment, five hundred tons of pig iron alone are pilfered; and he calculates that in the above articles upwards of four thousand pounds value passes into the hands of these delinquents yearly, without even a chance of their being punished. Another of these class of embezzlements is that well known under the name of the *bowl weft* system, generally carried on by weavers, winders, and others employed by manufacturers, and consists of the embezzlement of cotton yarns, silks, &c., which are sold to a small class of manufacturers, who, in consequence of purchasing this material at a greatly reduced price, get up their stuffs at a cost that enables them to undersell the honest manufacturer; and, indeed, in hundreds of cases he has to compete with the low-priced goods made from the material pilfered from his own warehouse, or embezzled by his own out-door workers; and it is to be regretted, that this class of *corks* should always find, even among respectable merchants, a ready market for their goods. A gentleman, who employs somewhere about 2000 out-door workers, and admits that his calculation is moderate, allows one penny each man per day as his loss from this system;—it is believed from fifty thousand to sixty thousand pounds per annum would not cover the value of articles pilfered in this way within the Parliamentary bounds of this city.\*—Dr. A. C. Taylor's Moral Economy of Large Towns.

Such are the results that have followed, and such are the results that may be anticipated in the present state of society, divided as it is into Capitalist and Labourer,

\* The system of embezzlement appears to be very general in all manufacturing towns where the artisan is entrusted with the raw material to manufacture at his own home.

In Coventry the manufacturers complain much of the prevalence of the system. Weavers, from silk partly purchased and partly embezzled, introduce goods into the market, through parties calling themselves manufacturers, at prices with which the fair trader has

from that system of policy that seeks the market of the world for the produce of our manufactures. Its tendency is to create large masses of population; to reduce them to the lowest point of the social scale; and to make them dependent, not from year to year, but almost from day to day, upon all the fluctuations in trade; all the changes in our commercial relations; and all the various casualties that daily occur in numerous countries throughout the world. "Great Britain is to be regarded now as a great workshop, which diffuses its fabrics equally over the frozen and the torrid zone; which clothes alike the negroes of the West Indies, the labourers of Hindostan, the free settlers in Canada, the vine-growers of the Cape, and the sheep-owners of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land."\* Thus a great part of our population is not only subjected to all those causes that tend so frequently to derange our commercial system at home, but is made dependent upon the good conduct and stability of all the different countries in the world; and is also subjected to the competition of the whole world. If America, for instance, over-trades, or mis-manages her monetary system, our exports to that country may fall in one year from about 13 millions to three millions, as in 1836 and 7. If she chooses to exercise her own manufacturing skill, possessing, as she does, so many natural advantages,

no chance of competition, part of the silk being stolen, and part of the labour given for nothing. But this is a natural consequence where men are reduced, even in a good time of trade, very nearly to the lowest rate of wages at which they can live, and who, in bad and fluctuating times, feel themselves driven to such demoralizing practices, or to the workhouse.

\* Alison, vol. 1, p. 519.



the difference of a hundredth part of a farthing per yard, is sufficient to drive our cotton manufacturers from markets, upon the retaining of which almost the very existence of their workmen depends.\* The demand for labour, therefore, being consequent upon such numerous and complicated relations, is it wonderful that such formidable distress should occasionally arise in our large manufacturing towns from want of employment, or that competition amongst the operatives should always keep them poor and destitute?†

The question, then, of Free Trade, is not as to whether it would be a most effectual stimulant to the increase of what political economists designate the wealth and industry of the nation; for of this there can be no doubt, as long as we retain our present manufacturing

\* "Putting these things aside, the repeal of the proposed duties will be felt where it is not perceived. Many of them being taxes on materials, their effect is to increase the wholesale price of manufactured goods; the great object proposed in their repeal is to stimulate the foreign trade, by enabling the manufacturer to reduce the price of his exports. Trifling, as regards the commodity, these taxes often are not; but if they were, it is trifles that are driving us from foreign markets. Three per cent. is the advantage of the American over the British manufacturer in the coarser cotton articles, which are superseding ours nearly all over the world. In a yard of cotton, this is so small that no fraction of a coin can express it—we must resort to the decimal parts of a thousand to present it to the eye. But to the foreign merchant, who buys hundreds and thousands of yards, three pounds, or even three shillings, will turn the scale against us."—Spectator, January 2, 1841.

† The conviction is forced upon us that the only thing that can make the principle of free trade *safe* and to the ultimate interest of the majority, is that all should be first made independent of foreign markets, so far at least as the mere necessities of life are concerned—and this is incompatible with the present form of society.

skill ; but whether such advantages are worth having, when coupled with the necessity of calling into existence such populations as those of Manchester and Glasgow : whether it is safe or desirable that England should become the workshop of the world on such conditions : and whether that which now constitutes our greatness according to the political economist, may not ultimately be the means of our destruction. We doubt if any country can long continue prosperous, where the manufacturing population greatly exceeds in numbers the agricultural.

But if Free Trade would increase the wealth of the country, it is thought that it must necessarily have a favourable bearing upon the condition of the poor ; for it is said that “ every addition that is made to the luxuries of the great, becomes in the end an addition of comfort to the poor.” But this does not seem to be borne out by facts ; for we find that those who produce luxuries for the rich are generally in a worse condition than those operatives who are employed in producing necessities. Examine, for instance, the condition of the ribbon weavers, lace makers, milliners’ apprentices, and gilders. We have also seen the proportion which voluntary contributions bear to the real wants of the poor in the city of Glasgow, where the accumulation of wealth by a few has been immense, and the contributions are undoubtedly liberal. No, we clothe the whole world in our cloth and cottons, while the producers of such cloth and cottons are naked at home, that the whole world in return may collect its luxuries to pour into the laps of the rich ! The great wealth amassed by the few, is squandered, partly in an unprofitable, (so far as the operatives here are concerned,) foreign-trade,

and in keeping a number of idle, unproductive servants, or useless horses, each one of which consumes the produce of as much land as eight men.

As a proof of the futility of those measures for which the extreme liberal party are contending in this country, may we not instance the Americans, who possess all the advantages which it is the hope of the veriest Radical to see realized here? They have no national debt; no corn laws; no taxes; an extended representation; and yet what is their condition? If their working classes are better off than ours, it is owing to none of these things, but to peculiarities in their position as a young country, which every day is making less apparent. It is owing to that kind of labour being in demand of which machinery cannot supply the want, and which, therefore, must be competed for by the capitalists. But this state of things never does and never can last long. The condition of the Americans is exactly what might have been expected from the leaving free and untrammelled the *selfish spirit of trade*. The pursuit of wealth, competition for individual advantages, are but modes of expression for the predominance of the selfish principle; and where this pursuit is the business of every day—of all the day, where self-interest is ever the one thing cared for, necessarily without reference to the good of others; where each is constantly striving to excel his neighbour, trusting for distinction, not to the ennobling qualities of our nature, but to that wealth for which all are contending; what kind of character must we expect to see produced? One utterly selfish. If we may trust the reports of travellers, the spirit of aristocracy, the inviolable attendant of the present social system, is growing

fast amongst the Americans, notwithstanding their republican and democratic institutions. America affords also other illustrations of the inefficiency of anything that the present system of trade can effect, for improving the condition of the operatives. Possessed of every possible advantage for the production and distribution of wealth, there are seasons of greater distress in America than in the old and more thickly-populated countries. There are more failures and greater fluctuations in fortune, and the insatiable thirst for and pursuit of wealth, leads the people from everything upon which real happiness can alone be founded. Miss Martineau says,

“Under the present principle of property, the wisdom and peace of the community fall far below what their other circumstances would lead themselves and their well-wishers to expect. \* \* \* The moralists of America are dissatisfied—the scholars are dissatisfied—the professional men are dissatisfied—the merchants are dissatisfied. Are the mechanics and farming classes satisfied? No! not even they; they must be aware that there must be something wrong in the system which compels them to devote almost the whole of their working hours to procure that which, under a different combination of labour, might be obtained at a saving of three quarters of the time.”

Captain Marryatt, describing the condition of the city of New York in 1837, says,

“Two hundred and sixty houses have already failed, and no one knows where it is to end. Suspicion, fear, and misfortune have taken possession of the city. Had I not been aware of the cause, I should have imagined that the plague was raging, and I had the description of Defoe before me.

“Not a smile on one countenance among the crowd who pass and repass; hurried steps, care-worn faces, rapid exchanges of salutation, or hasty communication of anticipated ruin before the sun goes down. Here two or three are gathered on one side, whispering and watching that they are not overheard; there a solitary,

with his arms folded and his hat slouched, brooding over departed affluence. Mechanics thrown out of employment, are pacing up and down with the air of famished wolves. The violent shock has been communicated, like that of electricity, through the country to a distance of hundreds of miles. Canals, railroads, and all public works have been discontinued, and the Irish emigrant leans against his shanty, with his spade idle in his hand, and starves, as his thoughts wander back to his own Emerald Isle."

And again, of a former crisis, "The New Era," a New York periodical, says,

"At no period of our history has there been so great a degree of general distress in this city as there is at this day. Of its mechanics and other working men, at least 10,000 are without employment, and their wives and families, which, on a low calculation, amount to 10,000 persons more, are suffering want, many of them heart-rending want. Full 2,000 of that comparatively educated class, the commercial clerks, have been dismissed from their occupations, whose previous scanty salaries allowed them to make but little provision for such a contingency. Of sempstresses, bonnet-makers, and other industrious females, 3,000 are at this moment in pining destitution."

Such, then, is occasionally the state of America, with all its boasted institutions, possessing everything that the working classes are taught to look to for the raising of their condition, and to the want of which they attribute their present depressed and wretched state. Do not these facts show that not only the uneducated, but even the educated class of producers who are not capitalists, are unable to provide against contingencies? It is true that in America those that have no capital easily acquire it, join the class of capitalists, and thus raise themselves upon the shoulders of their fellows; but these advantages, if such they may be called, are fleeting and must entirely cease so soon as the scanty population becomes dense and overgrown; and ought not our working men to

learn from the case of America, as well as the condition of other countries, that those objects for which they are striving are not such as would ultimately benefit them? They will benefit the capitalist, but not the labourer; and should the majority succeed in effecting those changes for which they are toiling, the latter would find, to his disappointment, that his outward circumstances were nearly the same as at the present moment. Their leaders, the conductors of the periodical press,\* are the disciples of the present fashionable school of political economy, which concerns itself with the production of wealth more than with its equitable distribution; whose sole avowed object is to increase the wealth and industry of the land; the wealth that makes a few enormously rich manufacturers, and the industry that creates immense masses of half-starved operatives; whose political economy is, in fact, for the rich and not for the poor.

**COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION.** That population presses upon the present means of subsistence is perhaps true; but whether it is in consequence of a natural law, or the effect of our artificial arrangements for the production, and, more particularly, for the distribution of

\* It would be ridiculous, were it not deplorable, to see article after article issued from the periodical press showing forth in true colours the state of our operative classes, the wretched and starving condition of thousands of them when out of employment, and the unremitting labour to which all are subjected when work is to be had; and then stating as the only and sufficient remedy, the repeal of the corn laws, or an extension of the suffrage, or an alteration in the currency, or to place the Tories in office instead of the Whigs, or vice versa. We think of the mountain in labour, and of the blind leading the blind.

wealth, which prevents the increase of capital to its greatest possible extent, and the proper application of that which is produced, will hereafter be considered ; and the tendency of Emigration to improve the condition of the operatives will be better seen when the former question is decided. To thin the population of our densely crowded cities, and to transport our half-starved mechanics and agricultural labourers to new countries where their labour is the thing most wanted ; to rescue the former from all the temptations to which a large city subjects them, and to transport both to new regions where their labour shall produce for them at least every necessary of life ; to people other lands, giving them all the advantages in civilization which belong to the mother-country, are measures unexceptionable and most desirable, and may very much improve the condition of those who go out ; but it is very doubtful whether the most systematic efforts for giving effect to emigration can ever benefit much those who are left at home. If a number equal to the whole annual increase of our population were sent yearly to our colonies, the effect upon the labour market would perhaps scarcely be felt, for the power of machinery increases much faster than the population, and might be increased indefinitely. This power is at present calculated to equal that of 600,000,000 of men ; a power capable of accomplishing ten times the work that it actually does perform, if it were required.

**EDUCATION.** There is a large and influential class in the country who trust to education to remedy all our evils. "Knowledge is power," say they ; "Give knowledge to the people, and they will improve their own

condition." And this is true ; but how, in their present degraded physical state, is this knowledge to be imparted ? Besides, this knowledge to be effectual must be accompanied by physical and moral training, these being the most important departments of education. Education has been previously defined to be " the improving and perfecting of every human being in every bodily and mental faculty." " It is," says Mackintosh, " a wise disposal of all the circumstances which influence character, and of the means of producing those habitual dispositions which ensure well doing." But a true picture of the condition of the working classes would show that the spread of education amongst them, in either of the above senses, is utterly impossible. The character of a person will always depend upon his original constitution and the circumstances by which he is surrounded, and all the differences among men in health and strength, in manners, morals, and religion, may be traced to these influences. We may establish schools, but it is impossible that the working classes, in their present condition, can avail themselves of them. The children are necessarily set to work too early to allow of anything like a training of their faculties, and the work is too laborious and incessant to admit of adult instruction ; and not only this, if both strength and leisure were permitted them for mental improvement ; if our Infant, National, and British Schools, and Mechanics' Institutions were filled, it would not be there that the poor would receive their education. It would be the circumstances by which they were surrounded at home that would form their minds and characters. Had they leisure to acquire a perfect knowledge of all the sets of laws, physical, organic, and moral, on which



happiness is dependent, it would be quite out of their power to obey them. A sound mind can only be based upon a sound body; for which latter we are to a certain extent dependent upon our parents, and the circumstances in which they were placed previously to our birth. These circumstances are decidedly unfavourable amongst the working classes, and it is to be feared that in many cases they cause a deterioration of both bodily and mental faculties greater than any after educational training can remedy. They are ill-fed, overworked, badly lodged and clothed; the exercise of their bodily and mental powers is partial and irregular, and they are subjected to numerous sources of disease consequent upon their particular employments; these are evils that act upon the constitution of their children before they are born, and must be removed before they can be educated. "It is a very important physical fact," remarks the Physician formerly quoted, "deeply connected with the improvement of nations and the progress of civilization, that the human frame and human brain obey certain physical laws, in consequence of which many qualities are inherited, and communities perfected and deteriorated in the course of successive generations to an indefinite extent,—deteriorated to almost inactivity bordering upon fatuity of mind; and on the other hand improved, how far it would be presumptuous to say; but certainly beyond any limit yet attained." And again, in speaking of St. Giles and similar haunts in London, and other crowded cities, he says, "In these cases, it is not defective education, but I feel assured from observation that the frame is modified, the organization affected by long-established ancestral errors, the results of which

upon the human frame are an incapacity to preserve its intellectual and moral beauty, any more than its physical beauty, which is so defaced that the figure and countenance reveal a whole life of wretchedness and foul thoughts, and often of crime."

It is evident, therefore, that unless the circumstances in which the working classes are now placed be changed—unless their physical condition be materially improved—to spread education amongst them to any available extent is impracticable. It is quite impossible that the nervous energy which each brain generates or supplies can be devoted to mental, when it has already been spent in physical effort. It is impossible, after a day's hard toil, that there can be much disposition to study. A stimulant for the exhausted faculties, found generally in physical excitement, seems to be the thing required and sought for by most. It is owing to this that our Mechanics' Institutions scarcely deserve the name, and that amongst the members are seldom numbered 20 per cent. of the working classes, and not perhaps more than 1 per cent. of all the working men in the several towns in which they are established.

Yet education of some kind—though not the kind that is desirable—not the kind that is safe—is advancing rapidly amongst the people. It is education of the intellect alone; there are few now who cannot read and write; but physical and moral education, so much more difficult to instil and to imbibe, is necessarily almost entirely wanting. In the growth of the individual mind the intellect advances before the moral powers; for it is necessary to know what is right before we can practise it, and this precedence of the intellect is perhaps a neces-

sary stage in the advance of the race ; but there are circumstances that make this stage of our progress, in this country, and perhaps in all old countries, particularly dangerous. "The tendency," says Mr. Alison, "of the present state of society is everywhere towards great cities, huge properties, corrupted manners, dense masses of the poor, selfish habits in the rich, and universal thirst for pleasure."\* In such a state of things the "little knowledge" which the poet so truly describes as "a dangerous thing," and which is all that the majority of the working classes have leisure to acquire, is little better, and more dangerous to society, than no education at all. It is sufficient to show them the advantages which the possession of capital gives to its possessor over those who live by the wages of labour ; to show them the evils attendant on the present law of property, without showing them that all civilization has been based upon that law, and that without security there could be no property at all. It is sufficient to give them ideas above their station and a desire for wealth without showing them that the possession of wealth, without the habits acquired in its accumulation, or still higher moral and intellectual aspirations, would be worse than their previous poverty. In fact, the knowledge that they can acquire, (of course there are many exceptions,) is of that superficial kind which tends only to give them exalted ideas of their own judgment, to make them intolerant, bigoted, dogmatical ; the prey of every species of empiricism, and of every designing demagogue who has a free flow of language, and sense and skill sufficient to flatter their prevailing passions and prejudices. Yet is there no

\* Vol. 2, p. 282.

road open to us but onwards ; we must make the education of the people as complete as circumstances will admit ; and we trust that this country may be saved from the experience that a mass of ill-digested information is worse than ignorance. But we fear.

**RELIGION.** The dangers which arise from merely intellectual education, have been fully appreciated, if not exaggerated, by a large class in this country who are aware that “the schoolmaster is abroad,” and that it is now useless to attempt to confine him at home ; they therefore endeavour to obviate the mischief that arises from partial instruction, from the mere training of the intellect, by joining it with religious instruction. They justly think that a knowledge of rights should be accompanied by a knowledge of duties, and as they have no idea of morality separate from religion, they imagine that such instruction can only be imparted by religious establishments. If the science of morality were in a more perfect state and more cultivated, the distinction between morality and religion would probably be acknowledged ; Religion being the perception of the relation in which we stand to our Creator ; Morality having reference to the duties we owe to our fellow-creatures. But imperfect as the science of Morality is at the present day, Religion is so much more clogged with error and absurdity as to render the union of the two, which would naturally be so harmonious—so salutary, productive of confusion and even mischief. And yet the Christianity of our generation, mixed as it is with the barbarous dogmas of a young and uncivilized age, still contains the beautiful embodiment of the Moral Law, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as

thyself," and so long as men insist upon having the knowledge of their social duties conveyed to them in so cumbrous and unsightly a vehicle, our religious teachers must continue to be almost the only teachers of morals, and they are right who insist so strenuously upon the union of Religious with Secular instruction. While, however, we thankfully take the good that is granted us, it must be matter of great regret that the zeal which is so abundantly manifested at the present day in the cause of religion, is not more a zeal according to knowledge. The evils that surround us, our hardships and privations, our toils and misfortunes, our bodily sufferings, our mental anguish, are not regarded as consequences resulting from causes over which we have any control, but as part, a necessary part, of the ordinances by which the world is governed; not as warnings that we have broken those laws upon which happiness is dependent here, but as trials sent to prepare us for a state of happiness hereafter. So long as this view prevails, there will be no seeking for the causes of misery in the circumstances that surround us, in the imperfections of our own institutions; and without a due appreciation of the cause, we cannot control the effect. The same causes that prevent the extension of general enlightenment amongst the people, prevent the extension of a pure religion. True religion, the love of the Invisible Source of all that is good and beautiful, springing from the love of the goodness and beauty that is visible; which spends not itself in idle admiration and adulation, but perpetually gains strength by efforts to make this earth still more good—still more beautiful—can scarcely co-exist with the ignorance in which the multitudes are imprisoned. Superstition may

grow and ripen, for ignorance is the soil in which it best flourishes : a slavish fear of Hell may enthrall, or a selfish hope of Heaven may excite ; but the love of God can only be based upon just and enlarged views of His character and works, and the love of our neighbour is incompatible with the selfishness engendered by that system of society which obliges us to seek our own individual interests six days out of every seven. The ministers of religion do well to represent the spirit of true Christianity as opposed to the prevalent principles of our nature—to declare that a change must be wrought in us before we can appreciate and practise Christianity. But though we may pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God, as well as for our daily bread, both are equally dependent upon our own effort, upon the use of natural means ; and we can no more plant true religion in a soil that has not been prepared for it, than we can gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, or reap where we have not sown. The principles of man's nature are selfish and opposed to the spirit of religion, because the circumstances in which he is placed all tend to make them so ; the whole character of our social system must be changed, and man must have an interest in loving his neighbour as himself, before Christianity will be generally practicable. The erroneous notions concerning the freedom of the will ; the idea that man is able to act contrary to the laws of his being, and uncontrolled by surrounding circumstances, have helped to retard this moral reformation. It is much easier for a minister to rest satisfied with the conclusion that the members of his flock are all free agents, and that their condemnation must consequently be upon their own heads, than to examine into the causes of their irreligion or

unbelief, and to take the proper means to prevent its occurrence. But this would give much trouble to the pastor ;—and moreover, in such a mode of procedure, “faith,” i. e. the belief that effects may be wrought without cause or means—would be left out ; so it is easier to leave the flock to God’s free grace and their own free will. But when the causes of vice and irreligion are better understood, it will be seen who were the hirelings and who the true shepherds. The failure of the vast efforts that have been and are being made for the spread of religion—for a failure it must be pronounced when the effects produced are compared with the enormous machinery in operation—can be accounted for only on the supposition that these efforts have not been made in accordance with the laws of God, as revealed in the established connexion between cause and effect.

That which separates happiness here from happiness hereafter, as if they were inconsistent with each other, is a great and pernicious error. It is only by obedience to all the laws of God that happiness can be obtained here, and any other preparation for a future state of happiness besides such obedience, is inconceivable. And yet, does there arise a philanthropist who studies the laws of his Creator, and teaches mankind that happiness is to be sought by obedience to these laws, is he not decried by the priesthood as not of them, or of their creed—as a pernicious misleader, who offers happiness to men at the expense of their eternal salvation ; temporal gifts for their everlasting interests ? It is, unhappily, too much the policy of the priesthood to separate religion from temporal interests, to disconnect it altogether from worldly prosperity

and happiness, and in place of the good things which God has given so plenteously, and which He intends equally for all His children, to allow liberally to the poor “post obit bills on Heaven,” as a compensation for what the wretched system of society and its upholders have taken from them here.

Zeal in the cause of the religion of the country is perhaps a characteristic of the age, and if it were founded more upon knowledge, and were purified from motives that are sometimes secular, often selfish, and not unfrequently malignant, it would be a favourable sign of the times, and might have a most beneficial and humanizing effect upon our manners and institutions. But while the so called *orthodox* religion is supported by one class, because “the Deity is in some inexplicable manner supposed to be of the government party,” it is supported by another class, equally numerous, out of deference to public opinion. There is, undoubtedly, one portion of the religious world, whose zeal in the cause may be traced to a sincere anxiety for the eternal interests of themselves and their fellow creatures; and this class, although comparatively a small one, contains many of the excellent of the earth, who have sought a resting-place for the highest, and purest, and most ennobling of the feelings peculiar to man, and—finding none in the impenetrable selfishness of the world—have flown to the beautiful precepts of pure Christianity. But these have erred in forgetting, or in too much neglecting, the book of God’s works, and in not using it as the interpreter and test of all other books that have been handed down to us for our instruction and guidance.

A far more numerous class than this is one with



which the forms and ceremonies of religion constitute the code of morality. The individuals composing this class are regular attendants at the parish church, or meeting-house, to which they have been accustomed from childhood ; they annually give their guinea at the charity sermon, for the education and clothing of pauper children ; and if called upon, subscribe handsomely to the Bible Society, or to the Missionary Society, or towards building a Christian Church for converted Jews at Jerusalem. But the poor of their own land, of their own neighbourhood, are unheeded—for the many thousands around them who are dying of want, body and soul, in a land of plenty, they have no sympathy, that is, no sympathy that forces them to act as well as to feel in their behalf. To inquire into their real condition and to strive to mend it, is not one of the duties enjoined by the priest or sanctioned by custom, and is therefore no concern of theirs. And thus, while the rich man, having been to church and performed his weekly religious exercises, with well satisfied conscience and complacent demeanor, is feasting himself and friends upon costly wines and delicacies collected from the four quarters of the globe—a few feet of brick and mortar only, perchance may separate him from a family starving for want of the common necessities of life.

But the principal cause of much of the zeal manifested for religion, is that the teaching of it constitutes a respectable profession, which is a favourite one on account of its requiring less natural talent, previous study or mental endowment than any other, (excepting perhaps the military,) and which, while it ensures a livelihood, and often a competence, leaves much leisure, during six days in the week, for other pursuits. So that

if mankind were once to find out that they can learn religion better from God, as revealed in His works, than from clergymen, either orthodox or dissenting, many thousands, even in this country, of most respectable gentlemen would be thrown out of employment and subjected to much distress and inconvenience.

To those who watch with an eye of enlightened interest the signs of the times, it must appear as a melancholy symptom, that so blessed a thing as Religion should thus be degraded by close contact with all that is mean and paltry and debasing in man; that its name should be used as the passport to place, emolument, and political power; that its fair form should be so cramped by ignorance or bedizened by superstition, so cumbered by priestly trappings, and stifled beneath the mask of hypocrisy, that if the lovely original continues to exist at all, it is scarcely recognizable; that so many noxious influences should be suffered to assume its title and usurp its place, and to bring discredit on its name by blighting instead of blessing the heart of man. And yet to those who have faith in the power of truth, there is always the cheering hope that even with respect to religion, it will prevail at last, and succeed in divesting it of all those dogmas and appurtenances which have hitherto rendered it comparatively useless and pernicious. For instance, it will be found that the interposition of a particular providence is incompatible with the exercise and use of reason; that God's only mode of helping us, is by giving us powers by which we are enabled to make use of those causes which He has appointed to produce the effect we desiderate. That original sin is only the necessary consequence of the unavoidable limitation of our intel-

lectual being. That punishment is always intended for the reformation of the offender, and that therefore, accountability, in the sense in which the term is commonly used by religionists, does not exist. That nothing is to be left to man's free will, because his character depends upon his original constitution and the circumstances in which he is placed. That his faith, therefore, can only depend upon evidence, and his morality, religion, and intelligence, upon the influences calculated to make him moral, religious, and intelligent.

It is not to the present religious world or its teachings that we can look for the amelioration of the condition of society, for it holds that the evils under which we suffer are not remediable, but are a necessary part of man's worldly estate ; a doctrine which acts as an effectual drag upon the progress of improvement, by inducing men to suppose any great forward movement to be impossible, and exalted views of man's future condition here, utopian. Yet, however inefficient our various religious establishments are, compared to what they might be with their machinery and enormous resources—in the present wretched state of society, in which the degrading pursuit of individual gain, the competition for individual advantage, form the business of life, they are the only establishments that we have for the calling forth and exercising of man's best and highest feelings, and in which the precepts of him who said "Woe unto them that are rich," are read, if not heeded. Moral training for the people there would be none without them.

We find no fault, therefore, with the temples that everywhere cover the land ; and we would lend no helping hand to pull them down ; but as soon as may

be we would have the money-changers and the spirit of Mammon driven thence—we would have them converted into the temples of God, where His laws should be taught, and the people instructed to follow His will on earth, as it is in Heaven. The physical, the organic, and the moral Laws are the Laws of God, and the petition, “Deliver us from evil,” is useless so long as we disobey them in wilfulness or ignorance. Places of *assembly* for the people we must have, because “the people” must always be led, and where else are they to look for those appointed by God for leaders, by a greater endowment than the average of mental and moral qualities—where else can the right road be so well pointed out to them, or the feeling generated that is to carry them on that road rejoicing? But places for *public worship* there can properly be none; and in nothing did the great Teacher prove his wisdom and deep insight into the nature of the human heart, more than by the veto which he virtually put upon “standing up in the synagogues to pray,” and by the sanction which he gave exclusively to the prayer that is uttered to the Father in secret, when the door is closed against all human intrusion. And we find that though he *taught* in the synagogue, he *prayed* on the lonely mountain side, or in the desert place apart.\*

\* The words or example of Jesus of Nazareth must, however, have little weight with those who take his own simple and beautiful prayer—which he bequeathed to his disciples lest they too should fall into the practice of “much speaking” and “vain repetition”—and repeat it four, and frequently five times in the space of an hour and a half, every Sunday morning, and twice or thrice in the evening.

The practice of public worship has now perhaps reached its

And is it not in solitude, in the Temple that He Himself has created, that the heart is most drawn towards the Eternal, and where the worship of Sincerity and Truth can be best offered up? It is in His beautiful world, under His own canopy of Heaven, that love and

acme of abuse. Although there may be a few who frequent the consecrated edifice because they feel it to be right, and who succeed in summoning the spirit of devotion, even amidst the accessories of a pompous priest and a gazing, listless multitude, there cannot be a doubt that, with the exception of those who "go to church" from mere habit, the principal motive for the regular attendance of the majority, is "that they may be seen of men." The opulent man fears the tacit wonder and reproach of his neighbours if he neglect the "decencies of religion." The tradesman fears to lose his customers, or the patronage of the clergyman, if he pay no regard to established observances; the poor man likes to show how respectable an appearance he with his wife and children can make once a week; but it is probable that if a church were so contrived that all the members of the congregation were invisible to each other, and so that no eye could mark the entrance or exit of any one, the clergyman would not seldom find himself in Dean Swift's predicament—preaching to himself and "dearly beloved Roger."

But to go and "pray in the synagogue," "that they may be seen of men," is not only the unacknowledged practice of the many, but in a few instances fashion has sanctioned it into a most legitimate and expedient custom. The bride, when she takes her place in the pew by the side of her newly-made husband, does so for the express purpose of being "seen," for this "being seen at church" is the important prelude to a series of calls and visits; and if the appointments of the drawing-room in which she is to sit to receive her guests, are not yet in due order, or the becoming morning dress in which she is to perform this ceremony is not yet completed by the mantua-maker, she hesitates not to put off her appearance at church till another Sunday, justly thinking that her weekly homage will not, for once, be much missed in Heaven. In the sadly different case where a train of bereaved ones fill a pew with the

gratitude and admiration devote us to His service, and that we learn best how He may be served. It is then we best can trace the design of His providence in laws all tending to one object—the good of His creatures, and the conviction is forced upon us that if we would *serve*

lugubrious signs and apparel of mourning, it is still “to be seen of men” that they are there; for their bursting hearts tell them too plainly that were it not a duty that they owe to custom, this making of their sorrow public is not indeed the way to assuage grief.

All this would be very well—it would be very well for the rich and poor to meet together once a week in a place of public instruction; it would be well for fellow-citizens to have such opportunities of friendly though silent intercourse, of forming the bond of union which the being members of one church always creates; it would be well for the working man to have this inducement to emulate his more comfortable neighbours in the cleanliness and respectability of his attire; for the new-married couple, if so it please them, thus publicly to introduce themselves to their friends, and pledge themselves to society as its new member; and even for mourners to show openly to the world their sense of bereavement, if in so doing they find peace and satisfaction, and are not compelled to it against their natural feelings by the idea of its being a religious duty;—all this would be very well, if our churches were places where duties were taught and consolation administered, the mind instructed, and the heart made better—but it is far, far from well in what are called Houses of Prayer. It is not well that at such times when it is pretended, and believed, that man is ushered into the more immediate presence of the Great First Cause, for the purpose of holding actual communion with the tremendous Power of the Universe, external circumstances should be so arranged that it is scarcely possible for the mind to free itself from thoughts, that if not absolutely frivolous and trifling, are exclusively of the earth, earthy. This constant triumph of the animal nature over the high aspirations of religion can have but one tendency, viz., to deaden the heart against the influences of devotion, to produce hypocrisy and lip-service, and in some minds to generate Atheism

Him, it can only be by love and sympathy towards all creation, and in active efforts to promote the happiness of all made capable of enjoyment.

After enumerating these different remedies for existing social evils, and plans for improvement proposed by various parties who admit and deplore their existence, we must not omit to mention another numerous and powerful party, who, being in possession of all the comforts and advantages of civilization, desire no change. The present system which accumulates all the produce of labour at one end of the scale and all the labour at the other, works well for them, and they fear its subversion. The great inequalities of condition, consequent upon the present arrangements for the production and distribution of wealth, they profess to believe to be necessary and established by the Deity. Kings, Lords, and Commons—masters and workmen—rich and poor—they hold to be natural grades, and not to depend upon the will of society. Those who reason amongst this class draw their arguments from the page of history: such has man ever been and such he must ever be. The progressive character of man's nature is omitted in their estimate. They point

of the worst species; for the practical Atheism of the unreflecting church-goer is far more destructive to all that is good in man, than the philosophic non-belief in any personal Deity, which may spring up in the mind of a Hume or Spinoza. No, let the principle of devotion be suggested to every heart, as well by the discourses of good and wise men in temples made with hands, as by Nature's teachings under the high arched roof of Heaven; but let not its accents be periodically forced from lips as cold as the stones that echo back the heartless murmur, and the Most High be perpetually mocked that man may be occasionally edified.

to all the necessary evil that has attended all great changes and revolutions, and to the failure of so many of the schemes for the amelioration of the condition of mankind. As in all changes, however great may be the ultimate advantage, some must suffer, these sufferers are the only objects of their regard. The agonies of the few who fell in the breaking down of the old and rotten institutions of France in 1789, strike them with horror, but the sufferings of the millions slain in support of the present system are not thought worthy of notice. The blood of a few thousands of the privileged they esteem more worth than an ocean from plebeian veins shed on the field of battle.\* They delight to picture the anarchy, disorder, and disorganization that would arise from the predominance of an ignorant democracy—for a democracy otherwise than ignorant is to them an anomaly. They are disciples of the Rev. Mr. Malthus; they believe that there is a necessary tendency in population to increase faster than the means of subsistence, and that the wretched poverty and starvation that exist are absolutely required to prevent the people from increasing too fast. Believing that the world must always be divided into castes, and that “the poor,” (signifying miserable, half-starved beings,) “we must always have with us,” they are unfriendly to any education for the people, excepting that State religious education which teaches them to look to another world for comfort and not to this; which carefully instils into them the belief that the present division of society into those that rule and those that serve, is appointed of God, not of man, and that therefore the principal duty of the people is to “Honour and obey the King,

\* See Carlyle's French Revolution, vol. 3, p. 65.



and all that are put in authority under him." "To submit themselves to all their governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters." "To order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters." "Not to covet or desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get their own living, and to do their duty in that state of life into which it shall please God to call them." They remember that the Founder of Christianity sanctioned the payment of tribute to Cæsar, but they forget that after describing how "the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them," he added, "But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister. And whosoever would be chief among you, let him be your servant." They are the active supporters of charities, for they hold that one great use of the poor is that the rich may have objects to exercise their Christian benevolence upon. These charities, however, are seldom such as help the poor to help themselves, but such as mark the dependence of the poor upon the rich, and care is taken that the badge of servitude shall not be omitted.

There are many of this party, as of all parties, who conscientiously oppose change from the fear of its leading to greater evils than those under which the nation at present suffers; but it is to be feared that the majority of them are wilfully ignorant of the real condition of the great body of the people, and that their opposition to change is dictated by the instinctive selfishness that fears to lose any of the distinguishing advantages which belong to their peculiar caste. It is not to this party, therefore, that we can look for any improvement in the condition of the working classes.

It is but justice, however, to say, that if the working

classes must always remain working classes ; if the increase of their numbers, and the competition of machinery, must always keep them poor and condemned to labour incessant ; if there is no more hope of their advancement than is to be found in the various schemes for their improvement that have been examined above, then the policy of the Conservative party is the right one—there is more to be feared than hoped from change. The people having no time to educate themselves, and therefore remaining ignorant, ought not to be entrusted with power, as it must under such circumstances be subversive of order. To educate them, were it possible, would be wrong without an addition to their physical comforts, for it would render their lot even more unbearable. It has been said, and with truth, that education hitherto has only tended to make the poor dissatisfied ; and such might have been expected to be the effect of giving moral and intellectual wants without the means of gratifying them. An ass, while he is an ass, does his work contentedly ; but could you change his nature by enlightening him, he would require a more just portion of the fruits of his labour than the road-side thistle. So, if the condition of the mass of the people does not admit of physical improvement, it is better, if it be possible, to keep them in a state of ignorance, utter, blind, gross, ignorance—for knowledge can only serve to show them a state of happiness and comfort in which they must never share. If this be *not* possible—which this party begins to suspect—then are they still politic in striving to give to increased knowledge the consolation of believing that what they do not receive here will be made up to them hereafter.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ON THE CAUSES OF THE POVERTY OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE working classes constitute the majority of the people in all countries, and their condition, with slight differences dependent upon local situation, government, laws, and institutions, is everywhere the same—they are everywhere poor, ignorant, and overworked. This of itself gives reason to suspect that the causes of this condition are not those which the greater number of philanthropists and politicians are striving to remove, and to which public opinion is directed through the press. The effects being similar in all countries, we may infer that the causes will be found to be similar also, and to lie deep in the very constitution of society itself.

However startling it may appear to those who view the present form and constitution of society as one that must always exist, yet we think we shall be able to show that the poverty of the working classes—the degradation of the great mass of mankind, is inseparable from it, and that so long as society is divided into capitalist and labourer, into master and workman, any efforts to improve materially the condition of the latter will be unavailing. When we make this assertion, it must not be supposed that we do not sufficiently appreciate the progress we have made, during the period of separation between Capital and Labour which commenced with

the institution of the present Law of Property;—a separation which appears to have been absolutely necessary to develop the resources of society in the non-age of man's highest faculties. We cannot speak lightly of that co-operation of man with man, of that form of society, of that state of civilization, however defective, which enables us to send a coach and four, or a steam carriage with our correspondence, from one end of the kingdom to the other for a penny, that penny being more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of its conveyance; of that advance in knowledge and arts that gives to individuals and to classes, advantages equal and similar to those they would enjoy if each were sole lord of all.

It is impossible to be too careful not to risk the loss of any of this progress; but ought this consideration to paralyze our efforts to hasten the time when its advantages shall extend, beyond mere individuals or classes, to the whole human family?

Society in its present form is divided into Capitalist and Labourer—into those who possess everything, and into those who possess, comparatively, nothing. When the poor man comes into the world he finds it already occupied; every part of it, except uncultivated regions inaccessible to him, is already appropriated. All the means by which labour is made available to production are private property, and all that is left to him is the strength of his body, the use of his limbs. His labour, therefore, is all that he has to exchange for the means of subsistence, for lodging, food, and clothing; what he shall receive for it, will depend upon the bargain he shall be able to make with those who possess the means of setting him to work. This bargain will be more or

less in his favour as his labour may be more or less wanted. But should the capitalist have no need of labour, should he already have as many things as he wants, or as many as he can profitably dispose of, he who has only labour to give in exchange for food, must starve, or depend upon charity for support, although he could produce three times as much as he can consume.

This, then, is the present state of things ; the world is in possession of the few, and the many are dependent upon their interest or caprice for the enjoyments, the comforts, the necessities of life. On the effects of such an arrangement the poverty of the working classes will everywhere be found to depend.

The institution of private property originated in the evident necessity there was for securing to every one the fruits of his labour, in the only way that could be devised in the infancy of society. No one would cultivate a field if another might reap what he had sown, and the fruits of the earth would scarcely be allowed to come to maturity, if no one were interested in preserving them to their full time.

It was ordained in the beginning that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, that labour should in all cases be necessary to production. Without the labour of cultivation the earth would support very few inhabitants. However abundant the raw materials for clothing and lodging, labour must fit them for the purposes required. There must also be capital, land, houses, implements, and machinery, to make this labour available to further production. There must also be an accumulation of capital, that is, more than enough to meet the wants of existing individuals ; for

the rising generation, the young unable to produce for their own support, must be provided for. That there may be this accumulation it is absolutely necessary that the fruits of a man's industry should be secured to him, and in the rise of society the only means of doing this is by a system of individual interests, by a law of private property. But however superior such a system to one of no laws and no rights, it is perfectly inadequate to fulfil the moral law of society, and will be found the occasion of most of the evil which at present afflicts it.

The moral law is founded upon the divine precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but the institution of private property makes this impossible, by disjoining the interest of every individual from that of his fellow, and causing individual interests, instead of the interests of all, to be the leading pursuit. The selfish part of man's nature is thus maintained in predominance by being brought into constant activity; strife, confusion, and hatred are the consequence, and distinction is made to depend upon "property" rather than upon ennobling qualities.

The object of the institution of the present law of property was to secure to *every one the fruits of his labour*; but in its subsequent effects it has become the instrument by which the mass of mankind are deprived of a large portion of these fruits. We have already stated the proportion which the class of Capitalists and Landowners bears in Great Britain to that of the Labourers; we have also seen that whatever may be the number of the labouring class, who, in one sense, produce everything, they receive but one-third of the produce; that of every twelve hours' labour, one-sixth, or

two hours, is required for the expenses of Government, five hours for the landowner and capitalist, in the shape of rent and profits, and about one hour for the retailers and distributors. The remaining four hours, as we have seen, under the present chance arrangements of society, will scarcely provide the means of keeping life together. We shall let an eminent political economist explain the principle of wages for himself:—

“In the greater number of cases, especially in the more improved stages of society, the labourer is one person, the owner of the capital another. The labourer has neither raw material nor tools. These requisites are provided for him by the capitalist. For making this provision the capitalist of course expects a reward. As the commodity, which was produced by the shoemaker, when the capital was his own, belonged wholly to himself, and constituted the whole of his reward, both as labourer and capitalist, so, in this case, the commodity belongs to the labourer and capitalist together. When prepared, the commodity, or the value of it, is to be shared between them. The reward to both must be derived from the commodity, and the reward of both makes up the whole of the commodity. Instead, however, of waiting till the commodity is produced, and abiding all the delay and uncertainties of the market in which the value of it is realized, it has been found to suit much better the convenience of the labourers to receive their share in advance. The shape under which it has been most convenient for all parties that they should receive it, is that of wages. When that share of the commodity which belongs to the labourer has been all received in the shape of wages, the commodity itself belongs to the capitalist, he having, in reality, bought the share of the labourer and paid for it in advance.”\*

This at once shows very plainly the source of the power of the capitalist; for why does it suit the convenience of the labourer to receive his share in advance? Simply because having nothing but the fruits of his labour to live upon, he must starve if he does not, and

\* Mill's Elements of Political Economy.

like Esau, rather than starve he sells his birthright for a mess of pottage.

For this reason all combinations of workmen against the capitalists to oblige them to give a more just share of the joint produce, have failed, and always must fail; the workman being compelled to take what the capitalist chooses to give, or starve. Strikes and Trades' Unions, therefore, can never succeed in raising the condition of the working classes. But if such combinations do not determine what shall be the share of the labourer, that is, the wages he shall receive, what does determine it? The demand for labour, and the supply—that is, the work to be done, and the number of hands to do it.

“Let us begin by supposing,” says Mill, “that there is a certain number of capitalists, with a certain quantity of food, raw material, and instruments, or machinery; that there is also a certain number of labourers; and that the proportion in which the commodities produced are divided between them, has fixed itself at some particular point.

“Let us next suppose, that the labourers have increased in number one half, without any increase in the quantity of capital. There is the same quantity of the requisites for the employment of labour; that is of food, tools, and materials, as there was before; but for every 100 labourers, there are now 150. There will be 50 men, therefore, in danger of being left out of employment. To prevent their being left out of employment they have but one resource; they must endeavour to supplant those who have forestalled the employment; that is, they must offer to work for a smaller reward—wages, therefore, decline.”\*

Thus, then, COMPETITION† decides the share of the

\* Mill, p. 43.

† Competition also decides the share of the Capitalist; with improvements in machinery, increased markets, and general confidence, profits are very large; but when any of the numerous disturbing causes affecting trade arise, competition is generally strong enough to deprive manufacturers of all profit, and many



labourer, and thus, under the present system, it must ever be ; the working man, even to live, must take the bread from his neighbour. The state to which we have found the class reduced, deteriorating in mind and body, dying by thousands, if not immediately from want, from its direct consequences, is the result. But, says the political economist,

“ If we suppose, on the other hand, that the quantity of capital has increased while the number of labourers remains the same, the effect will be reversed. The capitalists have a greater quantity than before of the means of employment ; of capital, in short ; from which they wish to derive advantage. To derive this advantage they must have more labourers. To obtain them, they have but one resource, to offer higher wages. But the masters by whom the labourers are now employed are in the same predicament, and will of course offer higher to induce them to remain. This competition is unavoidable, and the necessary effect of it is a rise of wages.” \* \* \*

“ From this law, clearly understood, it is easy to trace the circumstances which, in any country, determine the condition of the great body of the people. If that condition is easy and comfortable, all that is necessary to keep it so is to make capital increase as fast as population ; or on the other hand, to prevent population from increasing faster than capital. If that condition is not easy and comfortable, it can only be made so by one of two methods ; either by quickening the rate at which capital increases, or retarding the rate at which population increases ; augmenting, in short, the ratio which the means of employing the people bear to the number of people.”

“ If it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people. If, on the other hand, it were the

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must fail. Upon the present system a time invariably arrives in which all the known channels for our produce are filled up with goods, and there is no remedy for the then prevailing distress but new markets, or the failure of a great number of our manufacturers, and consequent starvation of their workmen.

natural tendency of population to increase faster than capital, the difficulty would be very great ; there would be a perpetual tendency in wages to fall ; the progressive fall of wages would produce a greater and a greater degree of poverty among the people, attended with its inevitable consequences, misery and vice. As poverty and its consequent misery increased, mortality would also increase. Of a numerous family born, a certain number only, from want of the means of well-being, would be reared. By whatever proportion the population tended to increase faster than capital, such a proportion of those that were born would die : the ratio of increase in capital and population would then remain the same, and the fall of wages would proceed no farther.

“ That population has a tendency to increase faster, than, in most places, capital has actually increased, is proved, incontestibly, by the condition of the people in most parts of the globe. In almost all countries, the condition of the great body of the people is poor and miserable. This would have been impossible if capital had increased faster than population. In that case wages must have risen ; and high wages would have placed the labourer above the miseries of want.

“ This general misery of mankind is a fact, which can be accounted for, upon one only of two suppositions : either that there is a natural tendency in population to increase faster than capital, or that capital has, by some means, been prevented from increasing so fast as it has a tendency to increase. This, therefore, is an inquiry of the highest importance.”\*

The leading school of Political Economy decides that the former supposition is the fact, and this is the cause it assigns for the poverty of the working classes. The latter supposition, namely, that capital has been prevented from increasing so fast as it might increase under better arrangements, we think we shall be able to prove to be the true one, and this fact, joined to its unequal distribution, will account for the *general* misery of mankind.

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\* Mill, p. 43.

That population, in some countries, and at certain periods, has increased faster than capital, may be true; but that this is, as the Economists suppose, its *necessary* tendency, is a supposition highly derogatory to the Presiding Power of the universe. "How slow soever," says Mill, "the increase of population, provided that of capital is still slower, wages will be reduced so low that a portion of the population will regularly die of want." We know that among the lower animals there is a tendency to increase faster than the means of support, and that as Reason is not given to them to increase the fruits of the earth, to sow and gather into barns, to invent machinery to lighten their toil, Nature has placed a check upon this tendency by causing large classes of them to feed upon one another; and by placing numerous other tribes under the dominion of man, whose reason prevents their increase faster than he has use for them, and means for their support; consequently they do not die of starvation. Is man then worse provided for, that he must die this worst of all possible deaths? No, not by the laws of nature and of reason; but if he is so in fact, it is the consequence of faulty institutions.

Under the present system, if increase in the number of operatives could be prevented altogether, improvements in machinery would be equivalent to an increase in numbers, and have the same effect in keeping them poor. A certain article of production, for instance, may be in steady and increasing demand, and competition amongst the capitalists may have slightly raised the wages of the artificers employed on it; the invention of a machine by which a dozen such articles are made with the same cost of time and labour as the one before,

will throw many of them out of employment, because so large an increase of production outstrips, for a time at least, the demand. Wages fall, and the earnings of the man who makes a dozen where he previously made one, are scarcely equal to what they were before, while the others starve, or like the hand-loom weavers, work for from 5s. to 7s. per week. The advantage arising from the extra production in the additional eleven pairs or pieces, is divided between the public, in the reduction of price in the article, and the capitalist who owns the machine. Very little of the advantage of increased demand, which the cheapness produced by improvement in machinery occasions, reaches the operative, since competition always obliges him to take as little as he can live upon.

In the cotton manufactory, improvements have been introduced which have enabled one man to do the work of 200. Should we not imagine that the share of the operative in such a case would increase? But no, the same quantity of labour is still required of him, and for nearly the same poor pittance.

As society is now constituted, the effect of machinery is the very reverse of what it ought to be. That which should lessen the hours of toil and give time for moral and intellectual improvement, under present arrangements works against rather than for the mass of the people. It comes into direct competition with the working man, and renders nugatory all efforts to keep the supply of labour within the demand. Divided as society is, into the few who have capital and those who have none, if machinery can be invented that can do all the work the former require, those who have nothing but labour to offer must starve. Thus it really hap-

pens, that the world is deluged with goods by the aid of machinery—our warehouses are filled to overflowing—our merchants are traversing the whole earth for customers—while thousands and thousands are ragged and destitute at home. Such is one of the anomalies of the present system of Political Economy, and the necessary effect of individual property. Though the world is replenished with all that labour can produce, this brings no leisure to the working man; in proportion as machinery assists him to multiply the products of the earth, the fewer fall to his share. Of what avail, then, is it to him that the articles he needs are cheap, if the labour, which is his purchase money, is unmarketable?

The causes that tend to depress wages are constant, those that tend to raise them are always fluctuating. A constant and regular demand for labour for years, is required to raise wages much above the price which competition has fixed; but any one of the fluctuations affecting the demand, has an immediate effect in bringing them down, and causing the sudden and overwhelming distress which so frequently occurs. The only means of raising the rate of wages and the condition of the operative, under the present system, is competition among the capitalists for labour, and that there is so little of this competition is principally owing to the increasing power of machinery.\*

The case, then, is now before us, and the true cause of the poverty of the working classes made evident.

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\* "Ricardo, Say, and Mill, (in his 3d edition, p. 228,) have denied the possibility, on the large scale, of any such thing as a *glut* in the general market of production:—

"1st, Because demand and supply must be coequal and coex-

To recapitulate briefly:—in consequence of the arrangement by which Property belongs to individuals, instead of to the Community to be used in furtherance

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tensive ; for no man would produce what he does not want himself, unless to purchase with it what he wants from others ; and this, his want, is equal to the means he brings with him to satisfy it. This is the case with every producer ; therefore demand and supply are coextensive, for every man's demand must be limited by his supply.

“2ndly, The production of new and unexpected articles, always produces a want that did not before exist ; and therefore increases demand, which uses up the supply produced ; as in case of steam engines, new fashions, and new inventions of all kinds. Metaphysically and in words, supply and demand must be coextensive, if by demand you mean merely *the want* of commodities you do not possess, excluding *the ability to purchase* ; which, however, is an essential part (as I think) of demand. Suppose I want a steam engine, and have nothing but printed calicoes to pay with, in a market overstocked with printed calicoes ; is not this a glut, so far as it goes ? Does not the introduction and improvement of machinery tend universally to over-production—production beyond what is wanted, or what can frugally be purchased ? People do not buy for the sake of buying, but of using ; and they will buy, therefore, no more than they actually want for comfortable use. Tell the manufacturers and operatives of Lancashire, of Huddersfield, of Norwich, of Birmingham, of Massachusetts, of Rhode Island—tell the wine-growers of France, that over-production is impossible,—will they condescend for a moment to hear your reasons for this paradox, that sets all matter of fact at defiance ? If a dozen pair of stockings will serve my purpose, and a manufacturer presses me to take from him one hundred pair, is not this a glut ? What may happen in fifty cases, as in Great Britain, and our North-eastern States, may happen in a hundred—in any assignable number. I agree, therefore, on this subject, with Malthus and Sismondi ; according to the actual arrangements of commerce there may be over-production in one, in fifty, in a hundred articles—there may be a glut of commodities in the market.

of the best interests of all, the labourer is compelled to take his share of what is in reality joint capital, in the shape of wages ; which share, owing to the increase of

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It is undeniable that there is a glut in the production of cotton and woollen goods at this moment in Great Britain.

“Let any man read the Report of the Committee of Manufactures, August, 1829, in the *Leeds Mercury*, signed John Stock, jun., Chairman, presented to Mr. Peel, and some other Noblemen, stating the starving condition of 13,000 operatives, within the immediate neighbourhood of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, who could earn by their labour but twopence half-penny sterling per day, (five cents,) out of which they had to defray the wear and tear of their looms, and to maintain themselves and their families. Is it possible to ascribe this to anything but the want of demand for labour, owing to an over-supplied market by means of machinery ? At least 200,000 operatives are now in this situation in Great Britain ; nor can any one hesitate to pronounce that this state of things is owing exclusively to a glut in the market. I am very willing to concede that my argument depends mainly on the present state of things—on the prevalence of ‘the restrictive system’ which interferes with, and clogs every operation of production and interchange. Let us suppose a system of free trade and free ports, and I have no doubt but supply and demand would so adjust themselves to each other, that a glut would never take place.”—Cooper’s Political Economy, p. 215.

“A population that extends beyond the means of subsistence—where the labourers crowd each other by competition to obtain employment—where the wages earned are not sufficient to enable a man, his wife, and a couple of children, to obtain the necessaries of life in sufficient abundance to maintain health and strength—is a state of society where happiness diminishes as riches increase. Such is the case with a large portion of the European population at this moment, and such is at this moment (1829, 1830,) pre-eminently the case with Great Britain. I shall take up this subject again in considering the *distribution* of national wealth ; but I confess myself at a loss to suggest any adequate remedy. That the extensive use of machinery has contributed to over-production,

his own numbers, and of machinery, and the consequent competition, is always as small as he can live upon. The rate of wages in no case depends upon the

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and thrown hundreds of thousands of workpeople out of employment, I see clearly ; but to prohibit or to lay aside machinery, I consider as utterly impossible. If one nation would do so, others would not. The evil I fear must cure itself, by the deaths consequent on the diseases of extreme penury. It is one among the difficult cases involved in the question of the origin of evil, which human knowledge has not yet accounted for on any satisfactory theory."—Ibid, p. 293.

If it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people, say the Political Economists ; but we think that if it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population—and we believe that it is, and that we shall prove it to be so—yet in the present artificial state of our commercial system, there would be great difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people. Is it the want of the *means* of setting the increased population to work, that is, of capital, in Great Britain, and in all old countries, that causes the general distress ; or of a *profitable* direction for such capital ? Is it want of capital in Manchester and in all our manufacturing towns, that prevents the employment of the people, or the want of markets ? There is, perhaps, no single branch of our manufactures in which production has been stopped for want of capital ; it has always been from want of demand. In Great Britain floods of wealth roll in all directions in which there is even the appearance of a profitable investment. Look at our national debt and the immense sums raised during the war ; the subsidies granted to any country in the world that can offer good interest and reasonable security ; the sums expended in railways—and then let us ask ourselves the question, whether it is the want of the means of setting the people to work that is the cause of their unprosperous condition ?

On the contrary, may not our present difficulties be ascribed with more truth to our being able to create wealth too easily and rapidly, so rapidly, in fact, that no one can be found to buy it



quantity of work done, or upon the amount of the produce, which would always be the case upon a system in which the labourer received his due share.

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fast enough? No; it is want of demand, not of capital, which is the cause. Demand enough there certainly is for almost every comfort on the part of two-thirds of the population,—but then they have nothing but their *labour* to give in exchange, which, as machinery increases and supersedes it, becomes of less and less value until it is insufficient for their support. But few of the working men are wanted, for machinery, aided by the natural powers of wind, water, heat, electricity, has been made to take their place. What, then, becomes of the theories of Political Economists with respect to the impossibility of gluts, and to the constant rise of wages with the increase of capital, &c.? Why that they may be true in the abstract, like the mathematical definition of a point, viz., that which has no parts and no magnitude, but that they are altogether inapplicable to present circumstances. If a plan of exchange were devised by which an increased quantity of goods in one department could always be exchanged for an increased quantity, or equivalent value, of commodities required by the party producing them, that is, if it were made as easy to sell as to buy; if trade were perfectly free in all countries; if all restrictions upon commercial intercourse with the whole world were removed; if railways intersected all its lands, and steam-ships traversed all its seas; if the facility of communication with all countries equalled that between our own counties; then, perhaps, their truths might be true *in practice*. They hold that demand and supply have an equal tendency to find their level with water, and they think it of no importance that in the operation whole towns are ruined, and whole countries half-starved.

In the consideration of the question of wages, we have not overlooked the fact, that the same cause, namely, competition, which reduces wages, lowers also the profits of the manufacturer, and reduces all produce to the lowest possible price; but this under the present system does not lessen, it perhaps only increases the difficulty, for the world becomes filled with produce of which no one is at liberty to make use. The rate of interest

Owing to the present defective arrangements for the production of wealth, the capitalist only employing his capital for further production as it suits his individual interest ; and owing to the unequal division of the produce of labour by which a large portion is wasted, and another large portion withdrawn from being useful towards further production, capital does not increase so fast as it has a natural tendency to increase, and does not keep pace with population. This diminishes the means of employing the people, and again increases the competition for employment, upon which the rate of wages depends. It is impossible to prevent this competition in the present constitution of society, because it is impossible to prevent the increase in numbers of the labourers ; and supposing it possible to prevent such increase, machinery might be in-

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(which determines the income of the capitalist,) depends upon the profits of trade, and is consequently low ; the capitalist, therefore, has not the means of purchasing. Capital is plentiful, production is great, and the competition among manufacturers for the sale of such produce is great in proportion, profits are necessarily low, and the manufacturer cannot purchase. The profits of the manufacturer being low, he endeavours to live by grinding still lower the wages of the artizan, with whom to purchase is more than ever out of the question. And thus it is that universal abundance co-exists with individual want. So also, although production is great, it falls far short of what it might be, for the manufacturer only produces so long as he can do so at a profit, and profit depends upon the scarcity, not the increased quantity of an article. With the increased quantity of goods in a market profits fall ; with a still further increase comes a loss, and production of course stops, although two-thirds of the population are in need of such produce. It is such artificial checks, resulting from an imperfect system, that prevent capital from increasing so fast as it has a *natural* tendency to do.

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creased to do all the work that the interests of the property-owners require. In young and agricultural countries, where machinery is less applicable to the work to be performed, labour may be sufficiently in demand to make the condition of the labourer comfortable; but in all old States it is a drug; an unmarketable commodity; nothing in fact is of so little value as a strong able-bodied man; and the result is the condition in which we have found the working classes—everywhere competing with each other for the sale of their labour, and reducing it in consequence to the lowest possible price that nature will allow them to take.

What is wanted, therefore, is apparent—a state of society in which property shall be so employed for the good of all, that the labourer shall not be obliged to take a less share of what he is instrumental in producing, than by right belongs to him; so that if a machine should be introduced which will enable him to execute a hundred times more work than before, he shall take his just proportion of the produce:—a state in which, the produce being equitably distributed, no one will have so disproportionate a share as will enable him to waste it, or to withdraw it from its use towards farther production; and, as it is in the power of every one to produce more than he can possibly consume, all artificial restraints upon production being removed, arrangements might be made by which all should be profitably employed, and production be always kept in advance of population.

The principal cause, then, of the evils that we have been considering, we conceive to be the present division of society into the class of those who possess every-

thing, and that of those who possess nothing—into capitalist and labourer, rendering the latter and by many times the most numerous class, altogether dependent upon the former—to which must be added the want of an efficient plan of exchange—and the remedy we conceive to be, the establishment of a system in which Property should be held in trust by society for the production of the largest sum of enjoyment to all.

As we believe that all other remedies for the evils that now afflict society will be but partial, or altogether unavailing, we propose in all the seriousness that such a conviction inspires, after having stated and considered the vast amount of such evils, to examine into the practicability of gradually introducing such a system. In this examination we shall never lose sight of the *sacred rights of property*, but we would also keep prominently in view the still more sacred *rights of industry*—convinced that although now divided and at variance, they are not incompatible, but admit of a strict union, and that in this union will be found the remedy for most of the disorders that now prey upon social existence. )

## CHAPTER IV.

### SOCIAL REFORM.

IF happiness be the object of man's being—if the happiness of individual man be as the whole of which he forms part—if the greatest happiness of that whole be the fulfilment of the Moral Law—the social system which accords best with that law, must be that which secures the largest sum total of happiness to the whole. Property is the means of happiness ; like the life-giving stream it may diffuse itself by universal channels over the land, covering it with fertility and plenty ; or left to its unchecked course, it may leave unvisited, on the one hand, arid and desolate wastes, whilst on the other, it accumulates into noxious pools, spreading disease and corruption around. Without this general diffusion of the means of happiness—of property—the state of society cannot be perfect ; and as the only means by which it can be effected, property must be considered as held *in trust by society* for the benefit of all.

This, then, is the principle upon which society must be based to place it in accordance with the natural laws, and from which all subordinate arrangements must spring.

History has hitherto presented man to us as acting under the influence of the mere animal part of his nature, his higher feelings not constituting leading

principles of action, but set merely as a guard over the others, to keep them within those bounds which are absolutely necessary to enable him to live in society at all. His powers have been directed towards the production and accumulation of wealth, not as a means of gratification of the higher faculties, and of general happiness, but of individual aggrandizement and distinction. Thus the selfish principle has universally predominated, and the institutions of society have been framed in accordance, so that each man is obliged to consider the taking care of himself as his first duty, and to devote all his energies in competition with all around him to that object. So searching is this competition, that little time remains to him for anything besides; those parts of his nature that have higher objects than mere personal good, lie dormant and inactive, and man falls far short of his greatest happiness. Most of the evils that we have been considering are consequent upon this state of things, upon this violation of the natural laws; for man's social institutions, while they are built upon the selfish principle, are as much opposed to the moral law, as the rolling of water up hill to the physical law.

However distant we may suppose the period when man, arrived at manhood, shall be the fitting member of a state of society based upon the moral principles of his nature, to this all our wishes and exertions must point; and in proportion as we can approximate to it, will the evils we deplore disappear. We must look for encouragement and hope in our efforts to bring about this more perfect state of society, not from the picture which history everywhere presents of the race, but to the progressive nature of his being, which is the grand

and distinguishing attribute of man. To such a system have the hopes of mankind, during all ages, with more or less distinctness been directed. Sometimes the happy community was to dwell in a millenium of this earth, sometimes in a fellowship of the saints in heaven—the poet dreamed of it in the golden age—the philosopher in his Republic,—his Atlantis, his Utopia. Amidst all the draperies of fancy and fable which have clothed the vision, it still stands forth, a living form of truth,—a type of the future brotherhood of man.

The full realization of this idea may yet be but dimly seen through a perspective of ages, but the outline may even now be traced, and the eye accustomed to its proportions. The old maxims of selfish individualizing interest may be gradually displaced, the true relation of man to society be more distinctly recognized, and the duties which it involves more widely acknowledged.

In discussing, therefore, what we hold to be the true system of society, it is not under the idea of its present universal establishment, but with a view to show the direction which all effective remedies for the evils of society must take, and to urge even the partial and limited adoption of the principles by those who have everything to hope, and little to fear from change.

We have all been educated under the present system, and our associations and prejudices may therefore all be supposed to be in its favour. We are accustomed to all its abuses, to all the restraints it imposes upon us, as the bird to the cage in which it was born ; but let us not on that account be deterred from giving due consideration to principles which claim to be founded in the laws of our moral being, although their adoption

may lead to a change in the form of society itself. Aware of the present condition of the mass of the people, let us not, at least, object to examine any plan that presents a reasonable prospect of improving it; and as a plan for giving comforts to those who are now comfortless, we shall at present chiefly consider the subject, not avoiding the reflections and comparisons suggested by it, although, as we have said, the immediate alteration of the whole face of society is neither practicable nor desirable.

The change required is one that shall render it unnecessary for the workman to sell his share of what his labour produces for less than it is worth; that shall give capital the most profitable direction towards further production, and cause machinery to work *for* the labourer, not *against* him.

( These objects can only be effected by the re-union of capital and labour—by the labourer himself becoming a capitalist, and the owner of the machinery with which he produces. It is proposed, therefore, that the working men should be encouraged and assisted to unite together in associations or communities, upon the principle of Joint-Stock Companies, in such numbers as convenience may dictate, for the production and equal distribution of all the necessities and comforts of life. )

The capital of these associations would consist of equal sums contributed by each member, the produce of his own savings, or furnished by capitalists, who, from motives of benevolence or interest, should lend their aid to the undertaking. This joint capital would be laid out in the purchase of land, the building of houses and manufactories, and the furnishing of agri-



cultural stock, machinery, and raw material. Or, all this might be done by a company of capitalists, and then let to the members of the association, at such a rental as should pay the interest and profit on the capital, allowing to them the right of future purchase. There is no doubt that, under proper regulations, such establishments would offer an eligible and secure investment for capital.\*

All trades and professions that have for their object the supply of the necessities and most essential comforts of life, would be comprised within the community, so that all of which the particular locality would admit, would be produced upon the spot. A staple manufactory would also be established in each, the produce of which would be sold to furnish the means of procuring such articles of foreign growth as are indispensable to comfort.

A Governor or Board of Directors would require to be chosen by the members themselves, whose office it would be to provide that each should be employed in that occupation for which nature or education had best fitted him. The joint produce, or, at least, the greater part of it, would be common property, and used by the Directors to furnish to all the largest amount of comfort and enjoyment to which it could be adequate, allowing luxuries to none until necessities were afforded to all. The co-operation required would be voluntary; the right to private property being given up to the community by the individual himself, only in

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\* The plan here proposed is not in the smallest degree original; it is simply adopted as an approach towards the realization of the foregoing principles. See Appendix.

consideration of receiving a greater advantage in return than he could gain by any other investment. It is no part of the proposed plan to interfere with either the rights or security of property as now established.

We shall first consider the economy of such an arrangement, and its capability of furnishing physical comforts; since an improved physical condition must precede all other improvements. We shall next consider how far it contains the means of happiness; that is to say, how far it would afford facilities for obedience to the physical, organic, and moral laws.

With respect to the economy of such a system, and its capability of making capital keep pace with population, we know that the members of a large family, whose funds would not allow of their keeping separate establishments, will find their incomes, when united, amply sufficient to maintain them in one; and it is accordingly inferred that by means of combination the artizan's pound a-week might be made to furnish him with comforts that would otherwise require many pounds to purchase, and that for the wretched hovel or cellar, or small and ill-built house, might be substituted large and commodious apartments. The household arrangements would be those of a large family, whose members would be equally furnished with comforts in proportion to the amount of the common fund. The great amount of labour now wasted in individual establishments would thus be placed at liberty. In the department of cookery, for instance, there is no doubt that labour and expense would be much economized if the food of a multitude of persons could be prepared at one fire, and by means of the same apparatus; and it is well known that the fires which are

necessary to warm one large house, might, by proper management, be made to warm those of a whole community. The same principle would hold good with most of the other items of domestic economy. But although kitchens, dining-rooms, drawing-rooms, reading-rooms, lecture-rooms, gardens, would be in common for all who chose to make use of them, upon the plan of clubs in London and elsewhere, solitude need not be denied to the lovers of solitude; on the contrary, to each might be secured private apartments, and, with the means of perfect seclusion, all the advantages that solitary individual arrangements could possibly furnish.

Another great saving would arise from the conversion of unproductive labourers into producers. We have seen how very large a portion of the products of labour, under the present system, go to the non-producers in the shape of profits to the retail traders, manufacturers, and land-occupiers; almost all of which would be saved under the proposed arrangements. The division into masters and workmen, manufacturers and operatives, would no longer exist; and as a single store of the requisite articles of consumption would perhaps be sufficient for a whole society, the profits of retailers would not only be saved, but the retailers themselves would be employed in production, and as the persons engaged in that department of industry constitute a fourth of the whole population, an immense mass of labour would thus be liberated;—liberated, too, from an employment as degrading under the present system as it would be unnecessary under the other.

One of the great advantages of the plan proposed

would be, that all the labour that could be set free, would be so much gain to the whole community; since, as all in the capacity of joint proprietors would receive a just proportion of the produce, any improvement in machinery which would enable them to do ten or twenty times the work in a given time, would be a common benefit; whereas, in the present system, labour saved is less to the workmen, who are paid for their labour only, and have no share in the produce. Here the notable expedient of the late Lord Castlereagh, of setting the people to dig holes one day, and to fill them up the next, would be unnecessary; for when the stores were full, they might cease to labour without being starved.

It is by this means only that the use of machinery can be made a blessing to mankind. The enormous power generated by steam machinery during the last forty years has rather tended to increase manual labour, and to impoverish the people, than to furnish leisure for the development of their moral and intellectual powers, which is its proper use. The rectification of this error alone would strike at the root of most of the evils that at present beset the working classes. The powers of machinery are as yet unknown and unappreciated, because they have been hitherto only applied for individual advantage, and not for the public good; but let them once receive their proper direction, and it will be found that manufactured produce is limited only by the will of man, and by the capability of the earth to supply raw material: machinery being a servant that never tires, that consumes but little, and whose powers may be multiplied almost to infinity.

If the powers of production, then, aided by ma-

chinery, are immense, notwithstanding that the present system does not admit of their being half-employed, what becomes of the fruits, for we have seen that the working-classes, two-thirds of the whole population, receive but one-third of the produce?

Political Economists have turned their attention principally to production, trusting to the selfish instincts of man, as they would to the infallible law of Gravitation, to regulate distribution; but it is only by a system such as we propose, founded in the union of interests, that demand and supply can be so proportioned to each other, as that none shall be in want, or the fear of want, and machinery be made to work for the good of all.

The tendency of capital in commercial countries is everywhere towards its accumulation in vast masses. The advantage which great capital gives its possessor over those who have but little, is so great, that it enables him ordinarily to distance all competition, and in the times of bad trade, which periodically ensue, to drive his smaller competitors from the market. Truly "unto him that hath is given, but unto him that hath not is taken away even that which he hath." But however disproportioned the capitalists' share of the wealth produced may seem to be, it cannot be said that the present system works well even for them. The majority of them who with small means have to compete with the monied men, may in prosperous times advance a few steps, but these they must painfully retrace when the tide ebbs, and the markets become again and again overstocked. What *then* is the picture which the capitalist presents? It is one with which we are too familiar. Overwhelmed with care—sinking

under the load of his responsibilities—his anxieties. If he stops his machinery—dismisses his operatives, his fixed capital lies wasting, dead and profitless; his best hands are dispersed; if he continues to work it, his capital is consumed in raw material and wages, to be converted into goods which only reduce still further the value of the stock on hand. His invention is racked to produce some novelty which may perhaps stimulate demand—if for a moment he succeeds, numbers rush in, in competition, until, like shipwrecked mariners, they all sink in that which would have saved a few. If it should not succeed, ruin stares him in the face—he must refuse work to those who depend upon it for existence, or lower the rate of payment to the utmost point. Distressed with their miseries, the requirements of his own family harass him still more; habituated to ease and indulgence, now striving painfully to retrench with all those feelings and associations which give the sharpest sting to poverty. Who that has seen this—and who in this manufacturing country has not seen it a hundred, a thousand times repeated—will say that this division of society is good even for the Capitalist himself?

In this degrading competition almost all trace of the moral nature of man is lost. The possessor of an enlarged mind and generous sympathies who cannot devote his whole soul to money-getting, has little chance of success; but he whose views are contracted within one narrow circle,—that of the commercial world, who gives his whole time and attention to the science of profit and loss, who has least sympathy with the mass of his fellow-beings, and who is not over

scrupulous as regards the means he makes use of, is, as a matter of course, the most likely to succeed.\*

To return to the question of what becomes of the produce of our immense power of machinery? The public enjoy some part of the advantage in the extra cheapness of all articles upon which it is employed; the rest benefits the capitalist, but principally the fortunate

\* "The tendency of the system is to throw an accumulating burden of mere labour on the industrious classes. I am told that in some of the great machine manufactories in the west of Scotland, men labour for sixteen hours a day, stimulated by additions to their wages in proportion to the quantity of work which they produce. Masters who push trade on a great scale, exact the most energetic and long-continued exertion from all the artizans whom they employ. In such circumstances, man becomes at once a mere labouring animal. Excessive muscular exertion drains off the nervous energy from the brain; and when labour ceases sleep ensues, unless the artificial stimulus of intoxicating liquors be applied to rouse the dormant mental organs and confer a temporary enjoyment, which, in such instances, is very generally the case. To call a man, who passes his life in such a routine of occupation,—eating, sleeping, labouring, and drinking,—a Christian, an immortal being, preparing by his exertions here, for an eternity hereafter, to be passed in the society of pure, intelligent, and blessed spirits,—is a complete mockery. He is preparing for himself a premature grave, in which he shall be laid exhausted with toil, and benumbed in all the higher attributes of his nature, more like a jaded and maltreated horse, than a human being. Yet this system pervades every department of practical life in these islands. If a farm be advertised to be let, tenants compete with each other in bidding high rents, which, when carried to excess, can be paid only by their converting themselves and their servants into labouring animals, bestowing on the land the last effort of their strength and skill, and resting satisfied with the least possible enjoyment from it in return.

few who have the means of employing it in the largest quantity. To them it furnishes not only the necessities and comforts of life, but luxuries and superfluities from every corner of the globe; the inmost recesses of earth and ocean are ransacked for those means of external ornament and show to which they trust for distinction, in the absence of better claims. They maintain horses

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\*By the competition of individual interests, directed to the acquisition of property and the attainment of distinction, the practical members of society are not only powerfully stimulated to exertion, but actually forced to submit to a most jading, laborious, and endless course of toil; in which neither time, opportunity, nor inclination, is left for the cultivation and enjoyment of the higher powers of the mind. The whole order and institutions of society are framed in harmony with this principle. The law prohibits men from using force and fraud in order to acquire property, but sets no limit to their employment of all other means. Our education and mode of transacting mercantile business, support the same system of selfishness. It is an approved maxim, that secrecy is the soul of trade, and each manufacturer and merchant pursues his separate speculation secretly, so that his rivals may know as little as possible of the kind and quantity of goods which he is manufacturing, of the sources whence he draws his materials, or the channels by which he disposes of his produce. The direct advantage of this system is, that it confers a superiority on the man of acute and extensive observation and profound sagacity. He contrives to penetrate many of the secrets which are attempted, though not very successfully, to be kept; and he directs his own trade and manufacture, not always according to the current in which his neighbours are floating, but rather according to the results which he foresees will take place from the course which they are following; and then the days of their adversity become those of his prosperity. The general effect of the system, however, is that each trader stretches his capital, his credit, his skill, and his industry, to produce the utmost possible quantity of goods, under the idea that the more he manufactures and sells, the more



and servants, who consume without re-producing the fruits of the earth, whilst they who labour for bread, are compelled to employ this labour upon absurd and useless articles for the gratification of vanity or capricious taste.

Thus are the fruits of machinery wasted in an unproductive foreign commerce of luxuries, and in setting the people to work upon useless, worse than useless

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profit he will reap. But as all his neighbours are animated by the same spirit, *they* manufacture as much as possible also ; and none of them know certainly how much the other traders in their own line are producing, or how much of the commodity in which they deal, the public will really want, pay for, and consume, within any specific time. The consequence is, that a superfluity of goods is produced, the market is glutted, prices fall ruinously low, and all the manufacturers who have proceeded on credit, or who have limited capitals, become bankrupt, and the effects of their rash speculations fall on their creditors. They are, however, excluded from trade for a season,—the other manufacturers restrict their operations,—the operatives are thrown idle, or their wages are greatly reduced ; the surplus commodities are at length consumed, demand revives, prices rise, and the same rush towards production again takes place ; and thus in all trades the pendulum oscillates, generation after generation, first towards prosperity, then to the equal balance, then towards adversity,—back again to equality, and once more rises to prosperity.

“ The ordinary observer perceives in this system what he considers to be the natural, the healthy, and the inevitable play of the constituent elements of human nature. He discovers many advantages attending it, and some evils ; but these he regards as inseparable from all that belongs to mortal man. The competition of individual interests, for example, he assures us, keeps the human energies alive, and stimulates all to the highest exercise of the bodily and mental powers ; and the result is, that abundance of every article that man needs is poured into the general treasury of civilised life, even to superfluity. We are all interested, he conti-

employments, while hundreds of thousands want the means of subsistence, and the first comforts of life at home. It must never be forgotten, that "labour was the first price, the original purchase-money that was paid for all things. It was not, and is not, by gold or by silver, but by labour that all the wealth of the world was originally produced." No fastidious or artificial want can be indulged without causing extra labour to

nues, in cheap productions, and although we apparently suffer by an excessive reduction in the prices of our own commodities, the evil is transitory, and the ultimate effect is unmixed good; for all our neighbours are running the same career of over-production with ourselves. While we are reducing our shoes to a ruinously low price, the stocking maker is doing the same with his stockings, and the hat maker with his hats; and after we all shall have exchanged article for article, we shall still obtain as many pairs of stockings, and as many hats, for any given quantity of shoes, as ever; so that the real effect of competition is to render the nation richer, to enable it to maintain more inhabitants, or to provide for those it possesses more abundantly, without rendering any individuals poorer. The evils attending the rise and fall of fortune, or the heart-breaking scenes of bankruptcy, and the occasional degradation of one family and elevation of another, they regard as storms in the moral, corresponding to those in the physical world; which, although inconvenient to the individuals whom they overtake, are on the whole, beneficial, by stirring and purifying the atmosphere; and, regarding this life as a mere pilgrimage to a better; they view these incidental misfortunes as means of preparation for a higher sphere.

"This representation has so much of actual truth in it, and such an infinite plausibility, that it is almost adventurous in me to question its soundness; yet I am forced to do so, or to give up my best and brightest hope of human nature and its destinies. In making these remarks, of course I blame no individuals. It is the system which I condemn. Individuals are as much controlled by the social system in which they live, as a raft is by the current in which it floats."—Combe's Moral Philosophy, p. 216-219.

some member of the community ; we can make use of nothing that has not cost labour in its production ; and that this labour is necessary to the support of the workman, and is therefore thought a blessing, is the pernicious consequence of the present system of society.

A state of society such as we contemplate, of co-operation amongst rational beings for mutual interests, where all should be proprietors, and where all should share the labour required for everything produced, would soon change all this, and introduce a new standard of wants. At least one-third of the labour employed in Britain is wasted in supplying artificial and factitious desires ; but the vanity of the absurd distinctions which now characterise society, would soon be seen and felt, when it was found that to furnish them required the extra two or three hours' labour per day of each member of the society. Neither, for the same reason, would idle servants or useless horses be maintained. The standard of utility would supplant that of caprice and fashion ; and as useless articles of luxury and vanity would no longer be an indication of the extent of private property, or marks of superiority, being possessed by all if by any, they would no longer be desired, and distinction would be sought where alone it ought ever to be found, in useful and ennobling qualities. Food, lodging, and clothing, with everything that tended to produce sound health, would first be secured as the necessary foundations of all happiness, and until these were obtained for all, luxuries would be permitted to none. All artificial wants would give place to real ones, and those the most essential and the least costly would be first attended to ; and although foreign markets might still be desirable for the sale of

home manufactures and the supply of foreign produce, yet as everything indispensable to life and comfort would be furnished to all without aid from abroad, men would be virtually independent of such markets, if deprived by any unforeseen circumstances of them. But in the existing state of things, it would be as injurious to the interests of a town like Manchester to cut off its supply of cotton from abroad, or its markets for the sale of such cotton when manufactured, as to deprive it directly of its supply of corn, either by home scarcity or foreign enmity.

When all possible physical wants, comforts, and conveniences had been supplied, when all the high and ennobling pleasures derivable from our moral and intellectual nature had been provided for, then, and then only, the labour of society, if it were to spare, might be employed in the acquisition of comparatively useless luxuries and ornaments.

The means of gratifying the wants of that part of his nature, which peculiarly distinguishes man, as man, are furnished abundantly on all sides of him, and are to be acquired at little expense of labour either to himself or others. On every page the progress of science has written something deserving his attention, and the beauties and wonders which she opens to his view may well compensate for the childish and costly pursuits that now occupy him. A flower may come to be esteemed more highly than a diamond, and a more becoming ornament than pearls; since these latter productions of nature, however beautiful, cost more labour than society will be willing to bestow in exchange for them.

If we, therefore, calculate the saving of labour that

would be effected by the introduction of such a system of society, from all the abovementioned sources, it will be found to be of immense amount, and sufficient, properly employed, to furnish not only necessary comforts to the working classes, but ample time for intellectual and moral enjoyment. There would be the saving from all household arrangements being in common, instead of individual family establishments; of the profits of manufacturers, merchants, and retailers, and of the enormous expense to which it is now the fashion to go in retailing; of the carriage and expense of conveyance of goods, as almost everything would be produced and consumed on the spot; of the produce of the land which is now employed in growing grain, hops, &c., to make intoxicating liquors; of the maintenance of the unemployed and half-employed labourers who are without work in consequence of stagnation of trade, brought on by gluts in the market, derangements in the currency, and the various causes that so frequently disturb our artificial system; and lastly, and above all, from the release of the labour that is now uselessly and perniciously engaged in gratifying the artificial wants of the rich, and the employment of that labour for the good of the whole community.

So far, then, it must be admitted that such a state of society would be superior to the present, in its economical arrangements, for the saving of labour, and consequently of the cost of labour, which is equivalent to the production of wealth. With respect to the *direct* production of wealth, there can be no doubt that from the universal diffusion of the appropriate knowledge, and from the absence of all selfish impediments, together with the waste of power and

material arising from individual operations, facilities and advantages would be afforded far surpassing any which the present system of industry enjoys from the stimulus of competition. Unity of purpose in production would be found no less beneficial than unity in all other objects. In so far as the principle has been adopted, it has achieved the stupendous undertakings of civilization from the pyramid to the railroad ; but when it shall be carried out to its full extent, and applied to the increase of the products of the earth—the means and the comforts of life, the results will probably leave our calculations far behind.

We have next to examine whether it would afford equal facilities for the practice of those principles which we assume to be essential to happiness, namely, obedience to the Physical, Organic, and Moral Laws.

A community such as we are contemplating must be regarded as one large family, each member being dependent upon the labour, and, therefore, the health and strength of all ; the strongest possible inducement is thus held out for the making of all its arrangements in harmony with those laws upon which health and strength of body are dependent ; and for the adoption of all plans by which labour may be shortened. The medical functionaries of such an establishment would have an interest in keeping every one in good health, not, as now, depending upon the want of health of the community for subsistence ; they would be anxious to make known, and to teach every one to avoid all causes of ill health ; and to this end every one would be made intimately acquainted with the structure and functions of his own body, and the relation of everything around him to his well-being. The best arrangements for the

preservation of health, which the knowledge yet acquired could suggest, would be adopted in all buildings, sitting and sleeping rooms, factories, workshops, &c. The greatest attention would be paid to warming, ventilation, and cleanliness; to clothing, diet, and all circumstances upon which physical welfare depends; for the illness of a member would be the loss of his share of labour to the community. Among parties co-operating for mutual interest, this care would be possible; in choosing their site for building, they would determine upon a healthy and convenient spot. How little care is now taken of the health and comfort of the poor in this respect! In passing through the country it must strike all who observe how little mutual accommodation, how little regard to others' interests is shown in every pile of building that meets the eye. The situation of each is dictated by individual caprice, with no regard to the laws of health; and we are irresistibly compelled to wonder at the Power which could make a piece of mechanism so delicate as that of man, capable of withstanding, in any degree, so many deleterious influences. In manufacturing cities, the dwellings of the poor are still worse—crowded together in courts and alleys, the sitting room and sleeping room frequently the same—small, dirty, unventilated, ill-constructed, and ill-drained. Can we wonder that health is not often found there?

Under the new system a complete change would be effected as regards these evils, since agriculture would be made in all cases the basis of the prosperity of the members. All would be employed, at least part of their time, upon the land in producing at home whatever the soil and climate would permit. The advantages

of country and town residence would thus be gained, and, without losing those that are derived from the division of labour, agricultural and manufacturing labour would be united. No man would be kept for twelve hours together to one dull, monotonous, soul-destroying employment, but labour would be so blended as to ensure the largest return of health and happiness.\*

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\* "As the division of land is thus the great step in the progress of improvement, so its distribution among the lower orders, in civilized society, is essential to maintain that elevation of mind which the separation of employments has a tendency to depress. It is too frequently the melancholy effect of the division of labour, which takes place in the progress of opulence, to degrade the individual character among the poor; to reduce men to mere machines, and prevent the development of those powers and faculties which, in earlier times, are called forth by the difficulties and dangers with which men are then compelled to struggle. It is hence that the wise and the good have been so often led to deplore the degrading effect of national civilization: that the vast fabric of society has been regarded as concealing only the weakness and debasement of the great body by whom it has been erected; and that the eye of the philanthropist turns from the view of national grandeur and private degradation, to scenes where a nobler spirit is nursed, amid the freedom of the desert or the solitude of the forest."

"Manufacturing employment, however, is not in itself fatal to habits of frugality; on the contrary, it tends to encourage them where it is combined with separate dwellings and rural residence. There is not in the world a more industrious and frugal set of men than the watchmakers of the Jura, the straw manufacturers of the Val d'Arno, the chintz workmen of Soleure, or the clothiers of Cumberland and the West of Yorkshire. The savings of these laborious men are all realized for the benefit of their families, and produce those beautiful little properties which gratify the traveller in those delightful regions. On the other hand, there is not to be found among civilized nations, a more dissolute, improvident, or reckless race, than the silkweavers of Lyons or Spitalfields, the cotton manufacturers of Rouen or Manchester, or the muslin ope-



We find a total disregard of the organic laws among the poor, both from ignorance, and from an utter inability, in those who have more knowledge, to help themselves ; and who, now, has any interest in altering the state of things ? All are disunited, isolated, individualized, competing with each other ; not as members of one family, working—pulling—together. The slave-

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ratives of Glasgow and Paisley. How great soever their earnings may be, they are for the most part wasted in the lowest licentiousness ; the recurrence of seasons of distress has no effect in inducing habits of economy ; the revival of prosperity only increases the oceans of spirits which are swallowed ; the return of depression sends their furniture to the pawnbrokers, their families to the workhouse. It is the extension of machinery, the accumulation of men together, which produce these fatal effects. The man who could discover a mode of combining manufacturing skill with isolated labour and country residence, would do a greater service to humanity, than the whole race of philosophers.”—Alison, vol. 2, pp. 8 and 155.

The Free Trade principle, “that we should never produce in one country what can be produced at less cost of labour in another,” should be received as admitting of many exceptions, because where labour would probably be to spare, such occupations would be chosen as were most conducive to health and happiness rather than always those that the circumstances of the country rendered most productive. At present production is considered only, without reference to health, and the produce of one hour's labour in our manufactories is exchanged for the produce of one hour's labour upon land abroad ; such land being twice as productive as our own, one hour's labour on manufactures here produces by the exchange double the quantity of corn that could be produced by the same labour upon our own soil. But may not the question be fairly asked, whether two hours' labour upon land be not more to the interest of the labourer, if he had his due share of the produce, and all other influences being taken into consideration, than one in a factory ? That system must be bad which takes no account of the health of body or mind in the *saving of labour*.

owner has an interest in the health and physical well-being of his slaves, the capitalist has the same in that of his horses and dogs, but if his workmen should die by thousands, it makes no difference to him, since others are immediately supplied from the overstocked labour-market. The poor have none to care for them in this Christian country, and notwithstanding the number of its religious associations and ostentatious charities, they may be said as a body to be left almost entirely to their own undirected resources. It cannot be thus under a system in which all are made to feel immediately and directly the suffering of any individual member; for though man may be without teachers who content themselves with saying, "be ye clothed and fed," and give tracts on temperance and frugality, yet he will not be without those who have made the laws of God on earth their study, and the wisdom of the wise will be at the service of those that are foolish, and the people will not be taught that the most direct road to heaven is the total disregard of the law of universal brotherhood, and of every other law upon which God has made happiness dependent upon earth. Everything that tends to improve the race, to increase its health, and strength, and beauty, to perfect the bodily and mental faculties, will be the subject of inquiry and deep interest, and a department of knowledge thrown open which has of all others been the most neglected.

The laws of the hereditary descent of the qualities of body and mind have, up to the present time, been deemed worthy of application only to the brute creation, to horses, dogs, and cattle; yet their application and vast importance to the human race is undeniable.

If we would regulate the influences upon which the possession of "a sound mind in a sound body" depends, we must begin before birth. That health is invaluable, all acknowledge—for in health alone is comprehended the "possibility of every exertion we wish to make—every virtue to which we aspire—every happiness we would possess;" and yet no care is taken by parents to fulfil those conditions which are essential to a perfectly healthy constitution, and the seeds of disease, mental and bodily, are born with most of us. The license of a clergyman, or of a magistrate, is deemed an all-sufficient warrant for handing down to posterity every disease of body, and weakness of mind. Let us hope the time is not far distant when the public voice will be uplifted, and the popular sanction withheld, from conduct so grossly selfish and immoral. The character of man, and the happiness dependent upon it, result from the original constitution derived from his parents, and the circumstances in which he is placed, but no after-circumstances can overcome the effects of an originally defective constitution. An American writer says, "The disregard and ignorance of the laws of human organization manifested in the transmission of disease to posterity, deserve the severest censure. While parents will spare neither labour and toil of body, nor care and anxiety of mind, to accumulate and bequeath princely fortunes to their children, they little think, perchance, of the germs of disease entailed upon them. \* \* \* May the day be not far distant when a sound and vigorous constitution shall be esteemed the richest legacy that ancestors can bequeath to their posterity."\* In the transmission of

\* American Phrenological Journal, No. 3.

consumption and madness, the law is acknowledged, but little regarded; passion and interested worldly motives are sufficient to throw into the shade all moral considerations of the consequences to others. Not only in these more striking instances do we behold the truth exemplified, but in large classes everywhere around us, whose physical condition, every physiologist will acknowledge, is far below what it might have been if this law had been obeyed. "Wherever we turn our eyes on the crowd of life," says a writer of large experience, "we see human beings falling a sacrifice from their early years, all through their career up to old age, to causes of premature death which seem to be unavoidable; and a truly natural decay is a rare occurrence."

Mind, too, dependent upon organization, owes its health, and vigour, and capacity, or its weakness and inefficiency, to parents, and the laws regulating the transmission of mental qualities are deserving of the most careful attention as intimately connected with our highest happiness. Let but the same care be given to man which is now bestowed upon the brute creation, and a constitution approaching more and more to perfection, might be imparted to each successive generation. In a state in which it would be for the interest, comfort, and happiness of all that each member should possess an originally sound and vigorous constitution, no pains would be thought too great to ensure it. The voice of public opinion would be loud against all unions that had an opposite tendency. Marriages would be dictated by different and higher motives than those which now cause the union of the majority of mankind. Worldly circumstances, which, from the highest to the

lowest, are too frequently the motives to such connexions, rather than suitable mental and bodily qualifications, could have no influence in a state of society where all would be equal, and no motives but mutual affection could have place.

**THE MORAL LAW.** The law of universal brotherhood, the essence of unperverted Christianity, is impracticable under the present system—if system that can be called which is a mere chaos of conflicting interests; born of chance and of selfish instinct, over the surface of which the spirit of reason, directing and arranging each part for the production of the greatest happiness, has never moved. That society should be founded upon laws by which *all* might live together in the most happy manner possible, has yet to be acknowledged. The present constitution of society, on the other hand, has been left to form itself; part has been added to part, as time and circumstances, the increase of mankind, and the formation of section after section, have called for it—each portion fashioned after the individual interests of class, without any reference to the good of the whole. It has been said, and truly, that “our laws and institutions are not the product of wisdom and virtue, but of modern corruption grafted upon ancient barbarism.”\* Thus it is we find “all mankind heaped and huddled together, with nothing but a little carpentry or masonry between them; crammed in like salt fish in their barrel;—or weltering (shall I say?) like an Egyptian pitcher of tamed vipers, each striving to get its head above the rest.”† The immutable and resistless laws of nature have, however, been at work, and through the

\* Westminster Review, No. 61.

† Sartor Resartus.

all-powerful influences of pleasure and pain, have been pushing man forward in the march of improvement, and, like the forces which, in the course of many ages, laid stratum upon stratum and prepared the way for sensitive existence upon the earth, have gradually been preparing the earth for the existence of man, not merely as a selfish animal, but in all the capacities of his physical, moral, and intellectual being.

If we trace back the progress of the development of man's resources, we find the foundation of the present social institutions laid at a time when, to prevent him from preying upon his fellow like wild beasts upon each other, rights of property were established and maintained by the strong arm of force alone. The greatest want, and therefore the greatest blessing, was security of life and limb; and the institution that could best afford it, was the most desirable. Here then was the foundation of an aristocracy. The leaders chosen to head the different associations of men for their common protection, maintained a kind of security, and "the strong man" was in proportion respected. Kings were at first only the chosen leaders of armies; valour and military skill were the virtues most in request; protection became a *profession*, and a soldier, as the representative of that profession, the most honoured.\*

But the power thus necessarily entrusted to an indi-

\* "All high titles come hitherto from fighting. Your Herzog (Duke, Dux,) is leader of armies; your Earl (Jarl,) is strong man; Marshal, cavalry horse-shoer. A Millenium, or reign of Peace and Wisdom, having been prophesied, and becoming daily more and more indubitable, may it not be apprehended that such Fighting titles will cease to be palatable, and new and higher need to be devised?"—Sartor, p. 256.

vidual, was soon abused, assumed as a right derived from God only, and not from the people, and ultimately became irresponsible. A profession of arms having been established with leaders whose interests were at variance with those of the people, constant wars were necessary to find occupation for such a profession, to promote the individual aggrandizement of the leaders, and maintain the influence they had usurped; and their real motives were concealed under the high-sounding names of Glory, Patriotism, and National Honour.

The power thus yielded by the people to ensure personal security when no better means could be devised, has never yet been recovered. Magna Charta, Cromwellian Revolutions, Parliamentary Reforms, mark the progress which has been made towards it, and the barriers to liberty that have been removed. The problem to be solved is, how to make perfect liberty compatible with security to life and limb, and the fruits of industry.

In the first stage of society physical prowess was alone regarded; but no sooner were the wild barbarous hordes that founded the present nations of Europe settled down into some quiet, than the influence of mind began to be felt, and then arose the power of the priesthood—a power sufficient, in some measure, to control the licence of the feudal lords, and to weaken the arm of violence and blood, which was constantly uplifted in their mutual aggressions, or attacks upon the liberty of neighbouring States.

Oral teaching was then all-important, for when there were few books, and fewer still who could read, it was almost the only means of imparting instruction. The sole possessors and interpreters of the book which was

supposed to contain the Revelation of God's Word, claimed and received universal dominion over the multitudes who knew no other source of light and truth ; but now that we are furnished with a more ample revelation of His laws unfolded by the experience of ages, and the written means of communicating it to the hearts of all,—shall oral instruction still be the only method of making known the law of the Lord,—and the more extended knowledge of His will, as revealed in His works, still continue to be sealed ?

As other wants of society took shape and form, the class through whom such wants found the means of gratification arose in importance. With personal security and comparative security to property, trade and commerce began to flourish ; and however much the pursuits connected with them were at first despised, as the dependence of society upon them for foreign productions, and even the comforts of life, became recognised, they were first tolerated, and then protected, until an aristocracy of wealth has gradually arisen, which treads close upon the heels of the aristocracy of birth.

When trade and commerce flourished, and the right of the strongest was no longer admitted, the laws of property became necessarily more complicated ; hence a class was called forth for the expounding of those laws, and their administrators rose in proportional importance. On the complexity of the laws depended the necessity for Lawyers,—make the laws plain, their occupation is gone. Consequently the simplest question, in their hands, assumes an intricacy which the strongest uninitiated intellect cannot unravel ; and the plainest, most intelligible language of common sense



and justice, soon becomes that of an unknown tongue to the people. With truth did Voltaire designate the body of lawyers as "the conservators of ancient barbarous usages."

Thus it appears the right of each class of society to the distinction it claims was based upon utility ; but the world is changed, and society pays homage to the shadows of things that were. As each of these leading divisions became necessary to the good of society, its pre-eminence has been acknowledged ; and although the wants that gave rise to it may be now reduced in importance, it still maintains its rank in the social scale. With security and peace, the power of man over the earth and its produce has increased, until money, the representative of this produce, has become almost omnipotent, "and whoso has sixpence is sovereign, (to the length of sixpence,) over all men ; commands cooks to feed him, philosophers to teach him, kings to mount guard over him,—to the length of sixpence." Money, therefore, is the universal want, and respect in proportion is paid to those who have it—with it man is everything, and without it he is nothing.

One class only has not hitherto been duly acknowledged—the working class ; but the signs of the times indicate the approach of a period when it *must* and *will* be recognized. "There is, however, something greater in the age than its greatest men ; it is the appearance of a new power in the world, the appearance of a multitude of men on that stage, where as yet the few have acted their parts alone."\* Money, the representative of all the produce which flows from the labour of the multitude, has been the means of defrauding them of

\* Dr. Channing's "Present Age."

the rights resulting from their real weight and importance ; by the help of money the truth has been concealed that everything which gives support, accommodation, and luxury to life, comes through the medium of the working classes, and the tribute due to them in return has been paid to the god of these latter days—Mammon. They will discover this, Mammon will be undeified and dethroned, the working classes in working for others will also work for themselves, and their claims will be then acknowledged. Yes, “he who first shortened the labour of copyists by device of moveable types, was disbanding hired armies, and cashiering most kings and senates, and erecting a whole new democratic world : he had invented the art of printing.”\* By its means the people will ultimately become wise enough to take their own concerns into their own keeping, to govern and protect themselves ; they will then withdraw the power which they formerly delegated, from those who have shown themselves unworthy of the trust—unjust stewards, who have kept the wheat and dispensed only the chaff. They will no longer consent to labour eight hours out of twelve to furnish the means by which they themselves are kept in ignorance and slavery. They who have hitherto ruled, may plead their claims to power and dignities through ancestral services, or musty parchments, but they will be no longer admitted ; *present* not *past* utility will be the only acknowledged title to distinction. Your wealth, will the working classes say, however acquired, keep, until you yourselves see fit to surrender it to the common stock ; but what belongs to us, the produce of our

\* Carlyle.

toil, that for the future we will keep. To make this possible they must take production from under the control of an interested class,—it must be encouraged to the utmost limits, and distributed on better principles.

The present system of competition is founded upon the predominance of the selfish and animal principles of our nature; each is left to take care of himself, and if he cannot do that the world has no place for him. There is no co-operation for the good of all; each class, each family, each individual, has interests at variance with those of his neighbours. The lawyer has an interest in the promotion of civil strife; the medical practitioner in the increase of disease; the clergyman, the soldier, the placeman, desire the death of their superiors, that they may obtain preferment,—the young that of the old, that they may inherit their riches, their honours. Capitalist competes with capitalist, workman with workman, retailer with retailer; and in this contest, not for happiness but for support, and for the means of rising each above his neighbour, every sound moral feeling is vitiated, every dissocial impulse called into habitual activity. And then the efforts, the struggles, the madness, the despair, of those who do not succeed, but who sink in the worldly strife!

The right of the strongest, in body, to deprive his neighbour of his share of the common bounties of Providence is no longer acknowledged, but the right of the strongest in mind is still maintained; the weak, for no fault but that he is weak, is trampled into the earth, and deprived of his share of the common stock in the general scramble. In the present competition for wealth, not only can the rich oppress the poor, but the

strong-minded can *legally* take the portion of his weaker brother. Men, it is true, do not, like the beasts of the desert, devour one another ; but they do that which is worse—they devour each other's substance, and leave famine and misery to finish the work.

In a state of society like this, the law of universal brotherhood is inoperative, the moral law is impracticable, and man might as well make all his physical arrangements at variance with the law of gravitation, as expect to find happiness with all his institutions so opposed to the moral law. But society based upon the principle proposed, reconciles all conflicting forces and unites the interests of all. The members would be as one family, each bringing what he possessed to the common stock for the general good ; each employing the talents with which Nature had endowed him, not for his own personal advancement, but for the good of all. Are any strong in mind or body ?—they owe it to God and not to themselves ; for so far as merit is concerned, the doctrine of necessity shows us all to be equal ; they will therefore share their strength with the weak. God has said, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself ;” and if He has given to one advantages more than to his fellows, it was that he might be the instrument of communicating them, and he will look for a higher reward than that which society now offers to him—individual advancement—in the reflection of the happiness which his extra endowments enable him to confer upon others. All, then, would be employed according to the talents, physical, moral, or intellectual, with which nature and education had furnished them, and all would share alike the fruits of such labour ; the weak would be assisted by the strong—

the sick by the healthy—the old by the young. The idle could not continue idle where all others were industrious, nor the vicious continue vicious in an atmosphere of morality. Offences against property must cease when all were joint proprietors, and “envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness,” would disappear with this strife of competition for individual advancement and enrichment.

With society moulded into such a form, would Education, as we have defined it, alone be practicable; for here only could there be “a wise disposal of all the circumstances that influence character, and of the means of producing those habitual dispositions which ensure well-doing;” for such a community only would have the means of doing this. Every bodily and mental faculty would receive proper direction and exercise, and all that knowledge and attention could do, would be done to bring such faculties to perfection. The young would early be taught the principles upon which the good of the community depends, and all instruction would be made to bear upon this, the most essential point; above all, they would be taught that they were children of the community, that they were all of one family, and that the duty of love is to all, not merely to those who are parents, or brothers and sisters, by blood, and consequently that all their bodily and mental endowments were due to the service of all. Virtuous dispositions, habits, and feelings, would be the first developed, and consequently the intellectual and moral faculties would almost naturally take their rightful ascendance over the lower feelings, and the happiness of the individual would result from well-directed efforts for the general good.

That this should be the case now is impossible, unless the laws of nature should be reversed and the same causes produce different effects. The strength and activity of a feeling is always in proportion to the exercise it receives. The selfish feelings are now most exercised, because each individual is obliged to take care of himself; therefore they are necessarily predominant. The law of love may be preached, and the innate depravity of human nature may be pointed to as the cause of the inefficiency of such preaching; but until the present system of individual interests is altered, however much it may be on the lips, the law of love will never be in the heart. The institutions of man and not his nature are chargeable with the failure of such misdirected efforts to improve it. Mr. Combe observes truly, that "if a constant struggle for supremacy in wealth and station be unavoidable among men, it is clearly impossible for us to obey such precepts, which must therefore be as little adapted to our nature and condition, as the command to love and protect poultry, but never to eat them, would be to that of the fox."\*

Such then is the Social Reform needed, such the only means that will bring about the amelioration of the condition of the people. This alone strikes at the root of all the evils that now beset us—poverty, ignorance, crime, the toiling anxiety of the millions. If we examine the registers of crime we shall find that the causes of most of the offences committed against property are poverty and ignorance. The offences that are not punishable by the criminal code—ill-will, suspicion, jealousy, mistrust, unfairness, covetousness,

\* Moral Philosophy.

are no less the produce of competition for individual advantages.

There are some who will trace in this plan the essence of pure and practical Christianity, divested of priestcraft, and of that which has converted it into a trade—there are few who would think the introduction of such a system of society undesirable, when compared in its results with the present—but there are many who imagine it impracticable and Utopian. We shall, therefore, proceed to consider some of their strongest objections.

Perhaps the objection that has most weight with those who have given any attention to the subject is founded upon that axiom of the political economists before alluded to, that “capital has a less tendency to increase than population; and that forcible means employed to make capital increase faster than its natural tendency, would not produce desirable effects.” If all were placed in a state of physical comfort, if the natural checks upon population, of want, misery, and crime, were withdrawn, numbers, it is imagined, would soon overflow beyond all power of capital to provide for them. This is founded upon the supposition, that land would give less and less return to the labour and capital bestowed upon it, that it would ultimately be impoverished, and, that therefore the much-increased population would necessarily be reduced to great poverty and distress, and ultimately starve. The hypothesis of Mr. Malthus is, that population has a tendency to increase in geometrical progression, while subsistence can only be made to increase in arithmetical progression; but this has been met, as we think, satisfactorily, by Mr. Alison, in his late

work on Population. It is here shown that "there is no instance in the history of the world of a country being peopled to its utmost limits, or of the multiplication of the species being checked by the impossibility of extracting an increased produce from the soil;" and that "the true question on which mankind is really interested is very different: that the main point in civilized society is not what are the productive powers of nature in the soil, but what are the means that the human race have *"for getting at these powers, and rendering them available for general happiness."*\* That this is the true question, is pretty evident; for though it must be admitted that the produce of the land cannot be increased past a certain limit, yet in no country has that limit ever been attained; and although many thousands in this country may be said to want the means of sustenance, and die yearly from want, or its effects, yet it may be shown that its soil could be made to support three or four times its present population. The Earl of Lauderdale calculated that a farm containing 504 statute acres would, under proper management, produce sufficient food for the maintenance of 1977 people; and, consequently, that 9,000,000 of people would require only 2,412,746 acres for their support. In that case England would support 180,000,000 of souls. The land annually under cultivation for wheat in England and Wales is but 3,800,000 acres, † and yet this, in years of ordinary plenty, supplies the whole population of Great Britain. In six bushels of wheat there are 280lbs. of fine flour, without including the coarser sort, bran, and waste; this is equal to 373 lbs. per quarter. Every 14 lbs. of flour make

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 473; vol. 1, p. 77. † See M'Culloch.



18 lbs. of bread. The average produce of wheat, as given by M'Culloch, is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  quarters per acre, which would give 1556 lbs. of bread per acre. This would allow 1 lb. per day to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  persons throughout the year. If a third of the land in Great Britain were under cultivation annually for wheat, although this is perhaps more than is possible, it would allow 1 lb. of bread daily to three times the present population. But some land will produce six quarters per acre; and by an improved system of cultivation, most land might be made equally productive, and this again would nearly double the population that could be supported. The evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Agriculture, in 1836, proved that the chief reason for the produce of the English farmer being below what it ought to be, was his stupid perseverance in the use of old and clumsy implements, and adherence to a bad system of cultivation which the intelligent farmer of Scotland had discarded. The want of land to work upon, and of material to work with, is a difficulty so remote that none need be deterred by it, from adopting measures to secure the happiness of mankind in the long interim.\*

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\* "So boundless are the resources of nature in yielding subsistence to the labour of man, compared to the power of multiplication in the human species, that it will immediately appear that at this moment the British population is capable of doubling the whole subsistence raised in the British empire, not in five-and-twenty years, but perhaps in five, certainly in ten years. And the same rate might go on successively, if no other moral obstacles existed to the rapid multiplication of mankind, until the land in these islands was cultivated to its utmost. The powers of man over the soil do not diminish as agriculture improves and society advances; on the contrary, they are greatly increased; and the results are

With respect to the powers of production, we quote the following passage from Mr. Owen's Memorial to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818:—

“At the commencement of the last quarter of a century, a much larger proportion of the population of Great Britain was engaged in agriculture than in manufactures, and it is probable the inhabitants of the British Isles experienced a greater degree of substantial prosperity than they had attained before, or than they have

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staggering, doubtless, just as the distances of the fixed stars, or any of the calculations of astronomy are, but they are not less fixed on authentic data, nor less productive of conviction to an intelligent mind.

“If, in order to test the comparative powers of population and production, it is allowable to put the physically possible, but highly improbable and morally impossible event of an old State like the British empire, doubling in numbers every five-and-twenty years, it is of course necessary to suppose, on the other side, the equally physically possible, but morally improbable event of the whole resources of the country being applied, during the same period, to the production of subsistence. Now, if that were done, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that the island could, in the space of five or ten years, be made to maintain double its present number of inhabitants. It is stated by Mr. Cowling, whose accuracy on this subject is well known, and his statement is adopted by the learned and able Mr. Porter, that there is in England and Wales 27,700,000 cultivated acres; in Ireland, 12,125,000, and in Scotland about 5,265,000, in all 45,090,000; and of these, he calculates that there are at present in cultivation by the spade and the plough, 19,237,000 acres, and 27,000,000 in pasturage. That is just about two acres to every human being in the United Kingdom; the number of inhabitants in Great Britain and Ireland in 1827, being about 23,000,000, and the same proportion probably obtains at the present time, when their numbers are nearly 30,000,000. Now, a full supply of subsistence for every person in wheat is one quarter a year; so that at this rate there is only *one* quarter raised over the whole empire, for every *two* acres of arable and meadow land. But an acre of arable land yields, on an average of all England,

enjoyed since. The cause is obvious: the new manufacturing system had then attained that point which gave the highest value to manual labour, compared with the prices of the necessaries and comforts of life, which it was calculated to afford, and it had not yet produced the demoralizing effects which soon afterwards began to emanate from this system.

"At the period mentioned, the manual and the scientific power of Great Britain were sufficient to create a degree of prosperity which placed all her population in a state of comfort at least equal, if not

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2 quarters and 5 bushels, or somewhat more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  quarters; so that every two acres is capable, at the present average, of maintaining five human beings, or five times the present inhabitants of the empire. Can there be the smallest doubt, that in a few years, this quarter per half acre might be turned into two quarters per acre, less than the existing average of England? Nay, is there not ground to believe that, by greater exertion, every acre might be made to produce 3 quarters, still less than the average of many of its counties? The first of these changes would at once yield food for four times, the last for six times, the present inhabitants of the British Isles, independent altogether of the waste lands, &c.; of which, Mr. Cowling states, there are 6,000,000 acres capable of being turned into arable and pasture lands, at present wholly uncultivated, which, at the same rate, would maintain nearly 20,000,000 more. So that if these data are correct, it will follow that about 120,000,000 of human beings, in the first view, and 180,000,000 in the second, supposing our present population to be in round numbers 30,000,000, might be maintained with ease and comfort from the territory of the United Kingdom alone; and supposing them all to be maintained on wheaten bread, drawn from the arable, and butcher-meat, raised on the pasture, lands, without any mixture of potatoes, or inferior food, which is greatly more productive."—*Alison*, vol. 1, p. 48.

"It seems, therefore, in every point of view, to be abundantly clear, that the true relation between population and subsistence is that of CAUSE and EFFECT; that the labour of man's hands is, by the eternal law of nature, adequate to much more than his own support; that this superiority of the powers of production over those of population, is a fundamental law of his existence, which

superior, to that of the inhabitants of any other part of the world. The value of her national funds was higher in 1792 than at any other period, and pauperism among the working class was but little known.

"The productive powers which created this high degree of prosperity consisted of temperate manual labour and mechanical and other scientific powers, which had been very gradually and slowly accumulating through the previous periods of her history.

"The manual labour was chiefly performed by men, unaided by

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never fails him in any period of his progress, and that, so far from this superiority becoming less in the later stages of society, it is constantly becoming greater, and that it is owing to that excess that the accumulation of wealth, arts, commerce, and manufactures owe their existence. If these principles be well-founded, it must be at once apparent that all apprehensions of the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence which the soil affords, are entirely chimerical in any particular country, until its cultivation is evidently approaching the extreme limit of perfection; and equally visionary in reference to the whole world, until the globe itself is all cultivated to its utmost."—*Ibid*, p. 63.

"The habitable terrestrial globe contains 37,673,000 square geographical miles, of which it is probable that upwards of 20,000,000 are available for the subsistence of the human race. This is making a very large deduction for the arid deserts of the torrid, or the frozen mountains of the arctic zone. Now, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland there are 91,000 square geographical miles, and on them food is now raised for nearly 30,000,000 of human beings. If, therefore, the whole world were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, there would be about 220 times as many inhabitants as there now are in the United Kingdom, or the globe would contain 6,600,000,000, being at least eight times its present population. When the vast superiority of the productive powers of the southern regions of the globe are taken into consideration, as well as the great increase which it has been shown the British Islands themselves can be brought to yield; when it is recollected that, in almost all the southern climates, two crops are obtained in the year from soil where irrigation can be attained; that the potato will maintain

the premature exertions of children, and its whole amount may be estimated, in 1792, at that of one fourth of the population, which was then about fifteen millions.

"The scientific power at the same period, was probably about three times the amount of its whole manual labour, in which case the manual labour would be equal to the work of 3,750,000 men; and the scientific three times the amount, or 11,250,000 of men, which makes the aggregate power equal to the labour of 15,000,000 of men, the population was also 15,000,000. Thus the population and aggregate powers of production appear to be equal, or as one to

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three times as many human beings on an equal extent of ground as wheat, and the banana, according to Humboldt, 25 times as many, it is not exceeding the bounds of reasonable argument to hold that this number of 6,600,000,000 might with ease be raised to 20,000,000,000, being above 20 times the whole probable population of the globe at this period.

"It is observed by Mr. Malthus, that, from all the accounts we have of China and Japan, it may be doubted whether they could be made to double their subsistence in any period of time. Let us test the accuracy of this statement by the more correct statistical information which the researches of modern times have brought to light. In China, according to Humboldt, the superficial area amounts to 463,000 square marine leagues, and the population, according to him, is 175,000,000. If it were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, which contain 2,250 to the square league, it would contain 980,000,000, or nearly five times its present inhabitants, according to one estimate, and three times by another; and if it were cultivated as Great Britain might be, as already shown, on the principle of every third acre being devoted to the staple food of man, and the remaining two for his luxuries, it would maintain 2,300,000,000 of inhabitants, or above 12 times its present population.

"The peninsula of India, according to Humboldt, contains 109,200 square marine leagues, and 134,000,000 of inhabitants. If these were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, which contain 2,250 to the square league, they would contain about 200,000,000 of inhabitants, or nearly double their present number; and if they were cultivated in the same way as the British Islands

one. The introduction, however, of the improved steam engine, and spinning machinery, with the endless variety of mechanical inventions to which they gave rise, and which have been applied to almost all the useful purposes and ornamental arts of life, have created a change in the productive powers of Great Britain of the most extraordinary amount.

“Manual labour has been increased by calling into action the almost unceasing daily labour of women and children into manufactures; and in consequence, its whole amount may be now estimated at about that of one third of the population, which in 1817

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might be on the principles above laid down, it would maintain at least 1,000,000,000 of souls.”—Alison, vol. 1, p. 66.

“But it is putting the case much too favourably for Mr. Malthus and his partisans in the doctrine of the pressure of population upon subsistence, to select merely for an illustration of the general law of nature, those countries, such as China, Japan, or the British Isles, in which population appears in the densest form that has yet been recorded in the history of the world. To restore the balance, it is but fair to take a few instances on the other side, and examine the capabilities of human increase which exist in the rich, but desert, or but imperfectly explored regions of the globe. If we do this, and sit down in the lodge of the wayfaring man in the wilderness, what a stupendous prospect is exhibited on all sides of the almost boundless capabilities for increase which are afforded to the human race! The basin of the Mississippi alone contains, according to Chevalier, 1,015,000 square geographical miles, or more than 11 times the whole surface of the British Isles, and nearly seven times that of the whole kingdom of France. The whole of that splendid surface is not only rich and fertile, but watered with noble rivers, and almost entirely destitute of hills or sterile spots. If it were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, this portion of America alone, lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky mountains, would contain above 350,000,000 of inhabitants. South and North America contain nearly 12,000,000 square miles, of which 6,000,000 may be considered as susceptible of cultivation, and of productive powers, as Humboldt has told us, far greater than even the most favoured regions of Europe. If these 6,000,000 of square miles were culti-

was calculated to be about 18 millions, or in 25 years to have increased 3 millions.

"But since the introduction of Arkwright's and Watts' improved mechanism, there has been a real addition to the power of creating wealth equal to that of 200 millions of active, stout, well-trained labourers, or to more than *ten times* the present population of the British Isles, or than *thirty times* the manual labour which they now supply for the production of wealth.

"The following changes have then occurred from 1792 to 1817 :

"The population increased from 15,000,000 to ... 18,000,000

"The manual labour from one-fourth of 15,000,000  
to one-third of 18,000,000, or to ... .. 6,000,000

"The new-created scientific power may be estimated  
at the least equal to the labour of... .. 200,000,000

"The scientific power estimated in 1792 at three  
times the manual labour, was equal to . . . . . 11,250,000

"Which gives for the aggregate productive power in  
1817 ... .. 217,250,000

"Or in proportion to the population in 1817, as twelve and a  
fraction to one.

"It follows that Great Britain has thus acquired a new aid from scientific skill in twenty-five years, which enables her to increase her riches annually twelve times beyond what she possessed the power of creating prior to that period, and which she may either waste in war, dissipate by an unprofitable foreign commerce, or apply directly to improve and ameliorate her own population.

"This enormous addition to the productive powers of Great Bri-

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vated, so as to produce even the same amount of subsistence to 1,500,000,000. It is no wonder that both Humboldt and General Miller, when traversing these boundless tracts of fertile land, where labour for three days in the week would make any family comfortable, and the produce of wheat, under even the most wretched culture, was never less than seventy, sometimes a hundred fold, should have been impressed with a sense of the boundless immensity of the gifts of Nature, and of the unhappy effects of those arbitrary institutions, and that squalid poverty, which in so many places retains multitudes in indigence and suffering, in a world groaning under the riches of nature."—Alison, vol. 1, p. 74.

tain, is, however, trifling compared to that which she may now acquire. She has still capital and industry, unemployed or misapplied, sufficient to create, annually, an addition to her present productive powers far exceeding the amount of her actual manual labour.

“Already, with a population under twenty millions, and a manual power not exceeding six millions, with the aid of her new power undirected except by blind private interest, she supplies her own demand, and overstocks with her manufactures all the markets in the world into which her commerce is admitted: she is now using every exertion to open new markets, even in the most distant regions, because she feels she could soon supply the wants of another world equally populous with the earth.

“Instead, however, of thus contending with other nations to supply their wants, and thereby, under the present arrangements of society, diminish the value of their manual labour, and depress their working classes, she might most advantageously for herself and them, extend the knowledge which she has acquired of creating wealth, or new productive power, to the rest of Europe, to Asia, Africa, and America.”

This productive power is now proportionally increased, the lowest estimate being that of 400,000,000.

With powers so stupendous at our command, and more than half a world yet uncultivated, the objection of the Malthusians that population has a greater tendency to increase than capital, which has closed the avenue to systematic efforts for improving the condition of the poor, would seem to have little force.

But grant, however, for a moment, that a time were arrived when all the land should be occupied, and subsistence becoming scarce,—would an educated and enlightened population, such as the new system would produce, who had tasted the sweets of plenty, and all the refined advantages which such plenty could bestow, allow of increase to its numbers beyond the point at which such a state could be maintained—until many



must starve, and all be reduced to poverty? No; the first lesson instilled into them would be, that all the feelings, the selfish ones in particular, must be placed under the guidance of reason, and be exercised only in accordance with the greatest happiness of all. It is an absurdity to suppose that all other advantages would be sacrificed to that of increase without restriction. Among men alone, and men of cultivated moral and reasoning powers, is the increase of population not to be limited to the means of support? If we were to permit the brute creation under our charge to multiply past our means of keeping them, so that they should perish for want, would not the immorality of it be sufficiently glaring?

Under a system of community of interests a check to population, if it should ever become desirable, would be readily imposed. The Shaker communities, under the influence of superstition alone, and not of reason, adopt the children of others, and have none of their own. But as society is now constituted, the supposition of the possibility of imposing moral and prudential checks to population is an absurdity; and those who tell the working classes that they have only to limit their numbers to raise wages and improve their condition, can do it only in mockery.

Labour and the means of subsistence have been apportioned to each other by an All-wise Providence, and if it does not procure food for all, it is not from want of productive power in the soil, but from the imperfection of man's institutions, which preclude him from the fruits of such productiveness. It is well ascertained that each healthy adult individual can produce considerably more than he can consume, if his labour be pro-

fitably directed. "Taking the best data that can be had, it appears that the labour of 19 families is required to produce annually 1160 quarters of all kinds of grain, being at the rate of 61 quarters by each family."\* According to this estimate the labour of one family would support about 15, and these 15 families, therefore, might be spared for manufactures. The productive powers of machinery in manufactures are scarcely calculable; in the cotton manufactory, already, one man by this power performs the work of two or three hundred, and the whole mechanical power of the country is estimated at that of 400, according to some of 600, millions of men,—a power, properly applied, sufficient to give as much leisure to the whole of the people as is consistent with health and their best interests; and also to pay off the incumbrances of the land, the principal and interest of its borrowed capital. Is there then reason to fear that capital cannot be made to keep pace with population, under proper regulations for the production of wealth?

The next important objection to be considered is, that community of property would destroy, or at least weaken, the motives to exertion, and consequently impede the progress of improvement. It is supposed that without individual reward there would be no individual effort; that unless each could appropriate to himself the fruits of his labour, he would not labour.

It is very certain that men would not labour unless they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, if they were not compelled, as at present, by dire necessity and the fear of starvation; but a community of interests does not suppose an annihilation of interests; far from this:

\* Porter, vol. 1, p. 59.

it proposes that each shall receive the full reward of his labour, and if he shall find that by allowing it to form part of the common stock, all the advantages to be derived from that produce will be multiplied fifty fold, he will be most willing that it should do so. The real reward of labour is not individual property, but the comforts, conveniences, and enjoyments which that property will furnish. If men will labour incessantly for the few necessaries that labour will now procure, would there not be an extra motive to exertion when they found that they were working to enrich, not a master, but themselves ; that every effort added something to their capital, and produced an adequate reward ? It is only supposing them to be sufficiently enlightened to know their own interest where it so broadly lies before them,—and this knowledge of the true bearing of the social principle must be given, before the working classes will be qualified to act together in such a co-operation of interests. Societies on these principles have been established, and such societies have failed, because it has not been sufficiently borne in mind that a perfect system of co-operation is impracticable, among people who have derived most of their habits and feelings from the present state of society, and whose faculties have been so little developed as those of the generality of the working classes of the present day. Ignorant and selfish persons have been assembled together expecting to find a paradise, without any exertion on their own part, without any knowledge of the principles of social union ; all aiming at securing the largest share of the fruits with the smallest share of the work. Such associations failed of course in their object, and such would fail again.

Until men shall have been better educated, and surrounded by such circumstances as shall be calculated to bring into predominant activity the moral and intellectual part of their nature, a modification only of the true principle of society can be introduced.

But we have not fairly met the objection. It is found that in those countries where, from advantages of climate or other causes, the necessities of life are easily attainable, lodging and clothing of the slightest kind being sufficient, and simple vegetable food being produced without much labour, that the people advance but very slowly in civilization, and rise but little above the mere animal state. It is true that "necessity is the mother of invention," and we have seen that much of what has been supposed to be evil, was not evil but good, inasmuch as it has been required to stimulate man to those exertions on which his well-being depended. Labour was intended as a common blessing, and it is the selfishness of man alone that has turned it into a curse; it is essential to the development of the physical powers, and to the happiness dependent upon a sound body. The labour of the mind is also equally essential to the health of the mind. If the Creator had supplied directly all man's physical wants, there would not have been sufficient motive for the bodily exercise he requires—if he had been made all-knowing in his sphere, that is, if all the truth necessary to his situation upon earth had been revealed to him, he would have had no motive for mental exertion; a sound mind in a sound body could not then have existed.

The force of the objection under notice with those who judge of man by what he has been, rather than

by what he is capable of becoming, lies in the foregoing reflections ; they only show, however, that the different stages of man's progress were necessary towards his present position in civilization, to develop all his resources in the infancy of his higher faculties. In this progress moral and intellectual wants have been generated, and the means of gratifying such wants are now attainable by exertion. In the early stages of society, whether exhibited in the past or present history of the world, when the physical wants of man were gratified, there was nothing left to set him in motion, to ensure healthy activity of mind and body. Now, however, a considerable portion of the race is approaching a condition in which they may be safely placed free from the impulse of these physical wants,—when, these being easily supplied, and as a matter of course, the highest energies of the mind and body will be excited by higher wants—Knowledge—Truth. The practical as well as theoretic cultivation of the Sciences and Arts—their application to all the purposes that can benefit mankind—the pursuits of refined taste—the search after those truths which the book of nature unfolds in ever new succession to our wondering gaze—the tracing of God in His works, and the pursuit of the highest happiness in aiding Him in the production of the largest sum of enjoyment,—these will be the motives—powerful motives—to bodily and mental activity.

But until these moral and intellectual tastes have been developed it is not desirable that the physical acquirements of man should be too easily supplied ; additional leisure would be wasted in animal pursuits and pleasures. It is to be feared that if the majority of

the working class were suddenly relieved from half their labour,—if their wages were at once to be doubled, that it would be greatly to their own injury and to that of society; for they have as yet no tastes upon which such time and money could be harmlessly expended. Ill-educated as they now are, the strong bond of physical necessity seems in a measure to be required, to keep all in their places and to maintain the order and peace of society. The present social state tends to keep them always in this depressed mental and moral condition, since it allows no time for the cultivation of any higher parts of their nature; therefore a change becomes imperative, which shall not only allow time for the exercise of all their faculties, but shall create a public opinion in their own class which shall compel them to make the proper use of it. A modification of the community principle would give time for the exercise of all their faculties, and only remove the physical necessity to labour, so far as higher motives to exertion and more refined tastes should render it desirable.

The present motives to exertion are, on the part of the majority, physical want; on that of the minority, for the most part, individual advancement and personal distinction (including a man's family always in the sphere of self); it must be granted, therefore, that the change proposed would weaken and ultimately destroy such motives to exertion; but as it would replace them with higher motives, equally strong, it would not impede, but accelerate the progress of improvement. Such motives, however, would probably not induce to the production of all the luxuries which to the higher

orders may seem indispensable ; for there is an influence in luxurious indulgences which, separately considered, may be innocent, that is opposed to the highest virtue, and therefore to the highest happiness. Who that has experienced the happiness derivable from the exercise of the moral and intellectual powers, does not feel that luxury tends to enervate both mind and body, that indulgence is opposed to the activity requisite to the attainment of the greatest good, and that the habit of self-denial in little things is necessary to keep the mind in the most healthy state? “A scrip with fruits and herbs supplied, and water from the spring,” may be rather too poetical a limitation of our physical wants, but it may possibly be found that the standard of physical indulgence is now placed too high to coincide with that of the greatest happiness. While society struggles on divided by conflicting interests, it is impossible that the long-sought medium between Epicurean luxury and Stoical privation should be found, for that very luxury is the distinction of the higher ranks, to which they mainly trust—and if they could be persuaded to resign it, the present direction of labour is such, that starvation to a large portion of the lower ranks must follow. Everything in the present system of society tends to keep the selfish and lower faculties predominant.

But it may be asked, would there be sufficient inducement to perform all the disagreeable offices and duties which society now requires to be fulfilled, since in a state in which all were equal, no one could expect another to do that which he was unwilling to do himself? At present there is no office, however laborious

and disagreeable, which, if a mere living is to be gained by it, numberless applicants are not anxious to undertake. The present system seems as much opposed to a vacuum in the labour-market as nature was thought to be to one in the physical world. The necessity that so large a portion of the population is under to find employment, even to live, fills up every channel for labour with the divisibility of a fluid, and force of a hydraulic press, developing every latent power, energy, and resource of man's nature. He labours in the dark mine, and in the sulphurous breath of the fiery furnace,—he works with the fine thread of silk, emulating the spider in the nicety of her touch,—he searches the deep, and exposes himself to every variety of temperature in the frigid and torrid zones,—he braves all the dangers of tempests by sea, and of perils by land,—in fact, bond slaves, or slaves of necessity, society has always required for its “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” and can their place be supplied in a society where all are free? It will be supplied by machinery, which will be made to perform most menial offices. When the object is to save labour, not to create it, much that is now done by hand will be executed by machinery. There are very few useful occupations degrading in themselves, or in which some superior minds have not been at some time or other engaged, or in which any person could reasonably object to be employed for a short period of the day or of life; but if any such there were, and necessary to the well-being of the community, its master minds would be turned towards inventions and expedients for shortening such labour, or for making the steam-engine take the place of man.



In favour of the present system, Mr. M'Culloch says—

“We incline to think that the great inequality of fortune that has always prevailed in this country has powerfully contributed to excite a spirit of invention and industry among the less opulent classes. It is not always because a man is absolutely poor that he is perseveringly industrious and economical: he may have already amassed considerable wealth, but he continues with unabated energy to avail himself of every means by which he may hope to add to his fortune, that he may place himself on a level with the great landed proprietors and those who give the tone to society in all that regards expense. No successful manufacturer or merchant ever considers that he has enough till he be able to live in something like the same style as the most opulent persons. Those immediately below the highest become, as it were, a standard to which the class next to them endeavour to elevate themselves; the impulse extending in this way, to the very lowest classes, individuals belonging to which are always raising themselves by industry, address, and good fortune, to the highest places in society. Had there been less inequality of fortune amongst us, there would have been less emulation, and industry would not have been so successfully prosecuted. It is true that the desire to emulate the great and affluent, by embarking in a lavish course of expenditure, is often prematurely indulged in, and carried to a culpable excess; but the evils thence arising make but a trifling deduction from the beneficial influence of that powerful stimulus which it gives to the inventive faculties, and to that desire to improve our condition and to mount in the scale of society, which is the source of all that is great and elevated. Hence we should disapprove of any system which, like that of the law of equal inheritance established in France, had any tendency artificially to equalize fortunes. To the absence of any such law, and the prevalence of customs of a totally different character, we are inclined to attribute a considerable portion of our superior wealth and industry.”

“We are also disposed to believe, how paradoxical soever such a notion may appear, that the taxation to which we have been subjected has, hitherto at least, been favourable to the progress of industry. It is not enough that a man has the means of rising in the world within his command; he must be placed in such a situ-

ation that unless he avail himself of them and put forth all his energies, he will be cast down to a lower station. Now this is what our taxation has effected: to the desire of rising in the world, implanted in the breast of every man, it superadded the fear of being thrown down to a lower place in society; and the two principles combined, produced results that could not have been produced by either separately. Had taxation been carried beyond due bounds, it would not have had this effect. But though considerable, its increase was not such as to make the contributors despair of being able to meet the sacrifices it imposed, by increased skill and economy; and the efforts they made in this view were far more than sufficient for their object, and consequently occasioned a large addition to the public industry and wealth that would not otherwise have existed."—M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 615.

Such is the reasoning of that school of Economists who see their greatest good precisely in that to which we attribute most of the evil we have been considering. But the end proposed by their system is *production*, without reference to either the good of the producers, or to that distribution of the produce which shall create the greatest sum of enjoyment. These are questions foreign to Political Economy. The "superior wealth" of such a state is the superior wealth of a few, realized at the expense of the superior industry, which means the *over work* of the many. "Efforts to place ourselves on a level with the great landed proprietors, and those who give the tone to society in all that regards expense," "the desire to improve our condition and mount in the scale of society," by the acquisition of wealth, is pronounced to be the source of all that is great and elevated. Experience tells us that it is more often the source of all that is mean and contemptible. It introduces a false standard of excellence, and makes that an object of ambition which does not necessarily

imply one single good or ennobling qualification. When we consider also that the acquisition of a great fortune can only be made at the expense of hundreds of our fellow-beings, such efforts to place ourselves by the side of our "great landed proprietors," appear to have anything but a great and elevated tendency, and a far different test of worth will be required in a society where the object will be to add to each other's happiness, not to vie with one another in acquiring and then in squandering the earnings of the productive classes. It is however the fact, that the present ruling motive to exertion is to rise in the scale of society; an elevation, as we have said, dependent upon wealth, and not upon any one great or valuable quality of heart or mind; on the contrary, the most mean and selfish, they who have but one thought, and that thought money-getting, are they who most frequently secure for themselves an honourable place in the world's opinion. From the contracted minds and warped feelings of such men it is that society takes its tone as to what is excellent, the best feelings of our nature are driven into the shade, and selfishness universally prevails.\*

But can a sufficiently strong motive for exertion be found, when this of personal distinction from individual

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\* "In Britain, that individual is fitted to be most successful in the career of wealth and its attendant advantages, who possesses vigorous health, industrious habits, great selfishness, a powerful intellect, and just so much of the moral feelings as to serve for the profitable direction of his animal powers. This combination of endowments would render self-aggrandizement and worldly-minded prudence the leading motives of his actions; would furnish intellect sufficient to give them effect, and morality adequate to restrain

property is annihilated? When all are equal with respect to property, what then shall raise one man above another—how shall he distinguish himself—for dull would be the world without emulation, without ambition? Mental and moral excellence will open the path to eminence, the only eminence to which rational beings can aspire. The desire of distinction, one of the strongest feelings of our nature, will no longer be associated with pride of caste, of family, of wealth, of establishment, of equipage, or of personal decoration, but it will take the direction of the higher sentiments, of the moral and intellectual faculties; each will endeavour to excel in what is intrinsically good, in everything that can add to the happiness of all; and he who is most forward in the march of improvement will reap the meed of honour. A change like this in the objects of ambition will of itself effect a moral revolution, and here will be found the most powerful motives, the strongest stimulus to exertion. It is impossible sufficiently to appreciate the effects of such a change; if our present position in civilization is the result of a limited education upon the minds of a few, what would be the effect produced if all should receive the best possible education, and all

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them from abuses, or from defeating their own gratification. A person so constituted would feel his faculties to be in harmony with his external condition; he has no lofty aspirations after either goodness or enjoyment which he cannot realize; he is pleased to dedicate his undivided energies to the active business of life; and he is generally successful. He acquires wealth and distinction, stands high in the estimation of society, transmits comfort and abundance to his family, and dies in a good old age."—Combe's Moral Philosophy, p. 205.

talent be turned towards the advancement of the general welfare.\*

It has been thought that individual advantage is the only thing that would call out all the power of invention; but is it the fact that the advantages of improvements in machinery have often been reaped by the ingenious inventor, or that the prospect of such advantages first set him to work? We know that in the majority of cases the reverse of this has been true, and that not the inventor, but some rich capitalist, has generally been the gainer by improvements in machinery. The cotton manufacture, the most rapid in its progress of any, may furnish us with an example. The improvements in the cotton machinery were made principally by Hargreaves, Arkwright, Compton, and Whitney. M'Culloch mentions the reward of the two last; he says, "Mr. Compton did not take out any patent for his invention, which indeed he only perfected by slow degrees. In 1812 he was advised to apply to Parliament for a reward. His claim being entertained, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed

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\* "More discoveries (says Dr. M'Culloch, speaking of Mechanics' Institutions,) will be made, according to the degree in which more individuals are placed in a situation to make them. And it is neither impossible nor at all improbable, that the lustre that now attaches to the name of Arkwright and Watt, may be dimmed though it can never be wholly effaced, by the more numerous and perhaps more important discoveries, that will at no distant period be made by those who would have passed from the cradle to the tomb, in the same obscure and beaten track that had been trodden by their unambitious ancestors, had not the education now so generally diffused, served to elicit and ripen the seeds of genius, implanted in them for the general advantage of mankind."—Dr. Cooper's Political Economy, p. 299.

to investigate the matter, before which evidence was brought to prove that upwards of four millions of spindles were employed on Mr. Compton's principle; that two-thirds of the steam-engines for spinning cotton turned mules; and that the value of the buildings, machinery, &c., employed on the same principle, amounted to from three to four millions. It is painful to have to add, that, notwithstanding this conclusive evidence to the great utility and importance of his invention, the House of Commons voted Mr. Compton the paltry sum of £5,000, a pittance hardly adequate to pay the expenses of the application!"\* And again, "Like too many inventors, Mr. Whitney enriched others without materially enriching himself. \* \* \* In 1812, after the vast importance of the invention had been recognised in all parts of the Union and of the world, Mr. Whitney petitioned Congress for a renewal of his patent, or for some indemnity for the losses he had sustained by its invasion. But notwithstanding a Committee of Congress made a strong report in his favour, the thing fell to the ground, and Mr. Whitney died, without having gained anything by an invention by which his countrymen have already realized a clear profit of 200 millions sterling."†

In this manner does the world generally reward its benefactors; those to whom it has been indebted the most, have been favoured the least,—persecuted to the death, or left in poverty to die by themselves, the world has shown itself unworthy of them; until perhaps some century afterwards, their services have been acknowledged "by those that give the tone to society," and a monument raised to their honour. But if the

\* Vol. 1, p. 645.

† Ibid, p. 650.

world were ready to reward with wealth the genius and invention of those who enrich it by their discoveries, it is doubtful whether such a stimulus would produce anything really excellent. In the state of society we contemplate, all this must necessarily be different; there each would receive his reward—the only reward the great and good ever covet,—in the consciousness of the happiness he would be the means of bestowing on all around, and in the respect and distinction that must always follow when every one is valued in proportion to the happiness he communicates.

The reason why the discoverers of new truths, they who by their writings and inventions have shown themselves in advance of their kind, so seldom meet with a due appreciation until such appreciation comes too late to be of service to them, and that their reward is confined to their own breasts, in philanthropic feeling and consciousness of successful talent, is, that individual interests are everywhere mixed up with prevailing errors, and are concerned in maintaining them. There is no error however great, no abuse however monstrous, but the interests of some are involved in it, and in the selfish clamour of these against all improvement we find the cause of the so frequent ill-requital of talent. But where all interests are one, where all know that suffering proceeds principally from error, truth will be loved for its own sake, and the elicitation of a new truth will be an indisputable claim to distinction. When the advantage of no party is connected with error, when it is not how a question affects the interests of the Church, or of the Law, or of the Medical Profession, or of the Government, or of the Aristocracy, or of any of the other separate and frequently conflicting interests

into which society is now divided, but how it affects the interests of all—then truth will be fairly discussed, and in such circumstances probably found—giving rise to an enlightened public opinion.

There are few questions bearing directly upon the welfare of man, that may not be subjected to the test of experiment,—a truth which, although acknowledged in physical, has still to be recognised in moral science. Morality is, however, a no less inductive science than Chemistry or Medicine, and when taken from the guardianship of a class who have reduced its most important precepts to their own low standard, it will assume all the importance of a regular science, the inductions of which may, as in all other cases, be subjected to the test of experience. Morality we have defined to be the science which teaches men to live together in the most happy manner possible; but mankind are still undecided, except on a few obvious points, as to its leading axioms. They agree that they should do no murder, that they should not steal, nor bear false witness, nor break through a few other positive precepts; but upon most of the questions bearing upon the happiness of man, their opinions differ, being borrowed generally from those of the class or caste in which they have been educated, and partaking of all the various degrees of latitude from the Quaker's to the Soldier's, from those of the Radical to those of the ultra Tory. When freed from the trammels of interested motives, these questions would all soon be decided by experience, as questions of family economy are now decided; whereas, in our present condition, morality must still be subjected to the influence of priestcraft.



By a public opinion formed upon the true principles of morality, the community must necessarily be governed; for no one, where all were as friends and brothers, well known to each other, could resist such moral sanction. Now, however, the vicious can hide themselves deep in the dregs of society, in the haunts of crowded cities, where the public opinion that acts upon them is that of their associates, congenial spirits from whom their own vices are reflected; from such sinks of infamy arise deleterious influences, corrupting the moral atmosphere even as fevers are generated by physical impurities. There is not a want, however selfish or depraved, or a vice which contaminates society, of which individual interest and necessity does not drive some one into furnishing the means of gratification.

It has also been objected to communities of united interests that they would tend to engender too great an uniformity of character, thus doing away with the variety on which happiness so much depends. It is to be hoped that universal love and uniformity in all good feelings, would be the result of such associations, but the difference in intellectual faculties would be as the vast variety of directions to which they would be turned. Character depends upon organization as well as upon surrounding circumstances, and the organization of an individual would depend upon the predominant faculties (predominant in activity,) of the parents; and the faculties that should predominate in activity in the parents would depend upon their leading pursuits. All the differences in character, therefore, that could be desirable would exist, for each mind would take a peculiar bent from its own peculiar combination of

intellectual powers and the different pursuits to which this would lead.

Again, it is objected, that if such associations were to become numerous, if the 26 millions of inhabitants of the United Kingdom were divided into 13,000 of these families on a large scale, competition would still spring up between the separate establishments. This is true, but it would not be attended with the same evil effects, either physical or moral, as between individuals. The competition we deplore is that which makes the interest of one man opposed to the interest of every other; neither is it so much the competition among capitalists, as the competition among the workmen for labour, which has the effect of keeping them at the starving point. It could never be the interest of enlightened communities to run down the value of each other's goods in the same market; they would find a means, therefore, through a Board of Trade, or otherwise, of preventing it. Competition in knowledge, in literary eminence, in the advancement of the arts and sciences, and in everything that tends to raise and refine mankind, would be healthy and desirable competition. Competition in the production of wealth, where all would be equal proprietors, might not be injurious. All the good effects of competition or emulation, to which political economists attach so much importance, would be retained, unmixed with the evil which, in the present state, so greatly predominates.

Many other objections are raised, as there are also to everything that is new amongst those with whom precedent is law, but they do not appear to be deserving of notice. They are most of them objections, not against the principles of co-operation, but against the

plans that have been proposed for the practical carrying out of such principles, and which objections may be well-founded or not without affecting our argument, since experience only can perfect the requisite machinery. If the principles of co-operation are sound, and it can be proved that a community of interests is alone in accordance with the moral law, while the conflicting, individualized, interests of society at present are opposed to it, we may feel perfectly satisfied that though the attempt to carry such principles into practice may have failed, and should again fail, even to the hundredth time, the cause of such failure must be looked for in some imperfection in the practical arrangements made for the purpose.

We do not the less appreciate the power of the steam-engine, because at one time it could be made to work only a common pump; neither is it less certain that machinery is fitted to be the servant of man to help him to do his work, because it now competes with the operative, and obliges him to work harder than before its invention.

Objections to the practical carrying out of the plan, if such there are, and well-founded, experience will soon remedy; and for the many others still unnoticed, they are principally the offspring of pure selfishness, and are not likely to have weight with those who truly sympathise with the evils that press so heavily upon the industrious classes, and who are sincerely and earnestly seeking for a remedy. It is heart-sickening to hear the puling objections of this sort that are brought forward against a system, that has for its object no less than the lifting from the shoulders of the country the immense mass of evil which bends her to the earth, and

the raising of the condition of each individual to a level, so far as regards happiness, with all that man has yet attained. One demurs to the idea of giving up one little individual advantage, another to that; one has been accustomed to this luxury, another could not do without that;—why, then, in Heaven's name, keep them—no one seeks to deprive you of them; but stand not in the way of those who, rather than see their fellow-creatures starved to death by thousands every year,—consigned body and soul to destruction,—would prefer the giving up of some one or two exclusive enjoyments—sacrifices which, although they might be called for at the present moment, must in the end be compensated a hundred fold.

Such is a brief sketch of the principles upon which a thorough Social Reformer would base his measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people; they appear to be founded deep in the immutable laws of man's constitution and of truth; and if that be the case, nothing can ultimately prevent their being carried into practice. The necessity for some change is evident on all sides. At the present moment, (Jan. 1840,) tens of thousands of the working classes are out of employment, declaring in some places face to face with the constituted authorities, that the law of necessity, the law of nature, is stronger than the law of man; and that rather than starve in the midst of plenty, they will help themselves from the abundance that everywhere surrounds them. It is felt that the cry of the labouring orders for employment must not be slighted; and how is it answered? Petitions are sent to the Head of the State to patronize this foolery and that foolery, that the artizans may get bread,—bread dependent upon

a slight factitious demand from the capitalist, which abstracts but a drop from the ocean of their need—not upon the means which exist of setting every one to work, and upon the capability of each to produce three or four times as much as he can consume. And if a voice is raised to say how all may be fed at the expense of their own labour, and not upon charity, it is disregarded and drowned amidst the bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance of the so-called Religious world.

“A feeling very generally exists that the condition and disposition of the working classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it. And surely, at an epoch of history when the ‘National Petition carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it,’ to a Reformed House of Commons; and Chartism numbered by the million and half, taking nothing by its iron-hooped petition, breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into sputterings of conflagration, such very general feeling cannot be considered unnatural! To us individually this matter appears, and has for many years appeared, to be the most ominous of all practical matters whatever; a matter in regard to which if something be not done, something will do itself one day, and in a fashion that will please nobody. The time is nearly come for acting in it, how much more for consultation about acting in it, for speech and articulate inquiry about it.”

“Delirious Chartism will not have raged entirely to no purpose, as indeed no earthly thing does so, if it have forced all thinking men of the community to think of this vital matter, too apt to be overlooked otherwise. Is the condition of the English working people wrong; so wrong that rational working men, will not, and even should not rest quiet under it? A most grave case, complex beyond all others in the world; a case wherein Rotany Bay, constabulary rural police, and such like, will avail but little.”

“We have heard it asked, why Parliament throws no light on this question of the Working Classes, and the condition or disposition they are in? Truly, to a remote observer of Parliamentary procedure it seems surprising, especially in late reformed times, to see

what space this question occupies in the Debates of the Nation. Can any other business whatsoever be so pressing on legislators? A Reformed Parliament, one would think, should inquire into popular discontents *before* they get the length of pikes and torches! For what end at all are men, Honourable Members and Reform Members, sent to St. Stephen's, with clamour and effort; kept talking, struggling, motioning and counter motioning? The condition of the great body of people in a country is the condition of the country itself: this you would say is a truism in all times; a truism rather pressing to get recognized as a truth now, and be acted upon in these times. Yet read Hansard's Debates, or the morning papers, if you have nothing to do. The old grand question, whether A is to be in office or B, with the innumerable subsidiary questions growing out of that; courting paragraphs and suffrages for a blessed solution of that: Canada question, Irish Appropriation question, West India question, Queen's Bench question; Game Laws, Usury Laws; African Blacks, Hill Coolies, Smithfield Cattle, and Dog-carts,—all manner of questions and subjects, except simply this, the Alpha and Omega of all! Surely Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England question too—Radical Members above all; friends of the people; chosen with effort by the people, to interpret and articulate the dumb deep want of the people! To a remote observer they seem oblivious of their duty. Are they not then, by trade, mission, and express appointment of themselves and others, to speak for the good of the British nation? Whatsoever great British interest can the least speak for itself, for that beyond all they are called to speak. They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify.

“Alas, the remote observer knows not the nature of Parliaments: how Parliaments, extant there for the British nation's sake, find that they are extant withal for their own sake; how Parliaments travel so naturally in their deep-rutted routine, common-place worn into ruts axle-deep, from which only strength, insight and courageous generous exertion can lift any Parliament or vehicle; how in Parliaments, Reformed or Unreformed, there may chance to be a strong man, an original, clever-sighted, great-hearted, patient, and valiant man, or to be none such;—how, on the whole, Parliaments, lumbering along in their deep ruts of common-place, find, as so

many of us otherwise do, that the ruts *are* axle-deep, and the travelling very toilsome of itself, and for the day the evil thereof sufficient! what Parliaments ought to have done in this business, what they will, can or cannot yet do, and where the limits of their faculty and culpability may lie, in regard to it, were a long investigation, into which we need not enter at this moment. What they have done is unhappily plain enough;—hitherto on this most national of questions, the Collective Wisdom of the nation has availed us as good as nothing whatever.”\*

It is upon this condition-of-England question that we are treating; and what may be said to be the particular state of this question at the present moment? One of peculiar difficulty and distress; a distress, the periodical return of which is a necessary adjunct of the present system. If the landowning interest may be considered prosperous, the manufacturing population, now greatly exceeding the agricultural, has for some time been bordering upon starvation and ruin. As we have previously seen, this class of labourers depend largely upon foreign markets for the sale of their produce, and any derangement abroad causes almost instantaneous distress at home. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the United States of America, in 1836, caused our exports to that part of the world to fall from about thirteen millions to three. Of course there was less demand for the labour of our manufacturing population, and a strong competition for what work remained to be done, was immediately commenced among operatives, manufacturers, and merchants, all willing to give their services almost for nothing, rather than stand still. The loss of all profit to all parties concerned was the consequence, without a corresponding advantage to any one.

\* Carlyle's Chartism, p. 6.

Again, a bad harvest in 1838 obliged us to send our gold abroad for food; the Bank of England was compelled to raise its discounts from 4 to 6 per cent. in order to bring it back again; and since it has become the system of trade to make very large returns at very small profits, and much business is done upon credit, this raising of discounts absorbed all profit, if it did not create a loss upon the mercantile operations in course of transaction. Under such circumstances it followed, of course, that our merchants would restrict their trade, and the manufacturers be obliged to limit their production, by putting their establishments throughout the country upon half-work; when, as we have seen, the operatives were barely earning a subsistence before. Although goods may not be in demand, yet manufacturers cannot stop their machinery, and shut up their manufacturing establishments, without great loss, therefore production to a certain extent must go on, and the competition for custom is sufficient to deprive all parties engaged, either in the manufacture or sale of such produce, of any return for their labour; and it is probable that, in most instances, for the last two years, the trade of the country has been done at a loss. This is not an hypothetical case, but a fact well known to all mercantile men, and who are now seeking a remedy in the revision of our Tariff, and in measures that shall increase the cheapness of production, and enable us to command additional markets abroad. This may be effectual as a remedy for a time; but unless that time be taken advantage of to introduce more radical changes—changes affecting the system altogether—thirty years hence will find us in a worse condition than we are in at present. A much less period will



suffice to increase our productive powers so that the actual markets of the world shall be filled with our goods, and yet it will probably find the numbers of our operatives increased in greater proportion still, and starving, as now, for want of new markets for their labour.

If then the tendency of the present system is as here represented—if it is liable to periodical accessions of great distress to the operatives, and killing anxiety to the manufacturer and salesman, whether wholesale or retail, is there any plan that a really practical man, neither an enthusiast nor a visionary, can listen to for altering for the better such a state of things? Is the change in the constitution of society, which we have been advocating, to be considered as anything but the dream of a philanthropist,—is it, or any part of it, really practicable? We have seen that it is in accordance with the constitution of man and with the principles of morality—is there any thing then in the state and circumstances of the world at the present time which forbids such a change? Experience has shown us that all great revolutions, to be permanent and efficacious, must be the produce of time; they cannot be brought about suddenly; for as the body changes its parts gradually, in the process of waste and reproduction, so also the mind requires to undergo a similarly gradual process in any great alteration of feeling and opinion. It is impossible to go into the world and see the ignorance and physical destitution of the mass, the gross selfishness of the middle and upper classes, without receiving the conviction that a *complete* social change, such as we have sketched, is, in the present state of feeling, *quite impossible*. The minds of the existing

generation are formed upon an entirely different model to that which will be required for society upon the new principle. Whether we go into town or country, we must be struck with the fact that there is scarcely a single person with whom we meet, who would be a fit member. Individual advancement to wealth and aggrandizement is reckoned among the first of virtues, and the man who can accumulate the largest amount of the blessings intended by God for all, is most respected by mankind.

What then is to be done, if, as we have shown, all other measures are inefficacious for the raising permanently of the condition of the people, and this the true one, we admit to be at present impracticable? To its full extent it is so undoubtedly,—but one step is made, and a most important one, when we know what is required; much may then be done in preparing the world for its gradual introduction, “for the truths that have to fight their way in the present generation, become axioms universally adopted half a century hence.”\* We find everywhere the marks of progression,—Conservative principles, and Reforming principles, although apparently opposed, are all working for good. The barriers that have separated nation from nation are being gradually removed, increased freedom of intercourse and of trade is destroying national enmities and national jealousies, and substituting charity and toleration for differing customs, manners, and opinions, and binding together the nations of the earth into one large family. The enlightened in all countries now perceive “that human improvement and national prosperity, are not promoted in any particular

\* Dr. Cooper.

nation, by depressing every other, but by aiding, encouraging, and promoting the welfare of every nation around us. That we are all in our turn customers to each other, and that neither man nor nation can become wealthy by impoverishing his customers. The richer other nations are, the more they are enabled to purchase, the cheaper they can afford to sell, the more improved they become in all the arts of living, in all intellectual acquirement, in everything desirable for other nations to imitate or improve upon. That if other nations become powerful by our assistance, we also of necessity become wealthy and powerful by our intercourse with them; and that peace and good neighbourhood are the means of mutual happiness among nations as among individuals.”\* Religious and philanthropic feelings, although misdirected, are yet becoming strengthened in the exercise they receive even in this misdirection and abuse; and the world is gradually and surely preparing for a better, more generally prosperous, and happy state of society. The co-operative principle is gradually raising its head in the shape of Benefit and Friendly Societies, Clubs, and various other forms, above the turmoil of individual conflicting interests, and much may be done by those who appreciate its importance to accelerate its progress.†

In the meantime we ought to give our aid to all

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\* Cooper's Political Economy, p. 209.

† “Clubs form a main feature of the social system of the richer classes of the metropolis. Formerly they were merely the resort of gamblers, politicians, or *bon vivans*—now they have assumed a more intellectual character; every calling has its peculiar club—from the soldier's to the scholar's. The effect which this multipli-

useful schemes for increasing the religious, moral, and secular instruction of the people ; to everything that tends, even temporarily, to improve their physical condition : to urge on the removal of the taxes upon all necessary articles consumed or used by the poor, and the placing of the public burdens upon those who are much better able to bear them, in the shape of property taxes : to disseminate industriously among the people a knowledge of their own constitution, and of the political and moral laws upon which the new system of co-operation must be founded : and to teach them that they must depend upon themselves, and not upon those who have represented them as doomed of God to their

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city of clubs has produced is salutary in the extreme ; it has begun already to counteract the solitary disposition of the natives ; it opens a ready intercourse with our foreign guests, who are usually admitted as honorary members ; prejudices are rubbed off, and by an easy and unexpensive process, the most domestic or the most professional learn the views of the citizen of the world. At these resorts the affairs of the public make the common and natural topic of conversation, and nothing furthers the growth of public principle like the discussion of public matters. It is said that clubs render men less domestic : No, they only render them less unsocial ; they form a cheap and intellectual relaxation, and (since in *most* of the recent clubs the custom turns to neither gambling nor inebriety,) they unbend the mind even while improving it. But these are the least advantages of clubs ; they contain the germ of a mighty improvement in the condition of the humbler classes. I foresee that those classes will, sooner or later, adopt institutions so peculiarly favourable to the poor. By this species of co-operation, the man of £200 a-year, can, at present, command the nobler luxuries of a man of £5000 ; airy and capacious apartments, the decent comforts of the table, lights, fires, books, and intellectual society. The same principle on a humbler scale would procure the same advantages for the shopkeeper or the artizan, and the man of £50 a-year might obtain the same comforts as the man of £300. If

present moral and physical degradation, and have therefore left them in it, thinking any question of greater moment than this, of—What is their condition, and what *ought* it to be?

There are various ways in which the people may be taught to combine for their own advantage, and the co-operative principle be partially carried out. Some account of its past workings and present progress will be found in the Appendix. That which appears to be in the first place desirable, is the establishment of a model society,—a sort of *normal school* for the guidance of others, for though the working classes may not be sufficiently enlightened to carry out the

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the experiment were made by the middle and lower classes in a provincial town, it could not fail of success, and among its advantages would be the check to early and imprudent marriages, and the growth of that sense of moral dignity which is ever produced by a perception of the higher comforts of life.

“Probably, from the success of this experiment, yet newer and more comprehensive results would arise. A gentleman of the name of Morgan, in a letter to the Bishop of London, proposes the scheme of clubs, not for individuals only, but families—a plan which might include education for children and attendance in sickness. Managed by a committee, such clubs would remove the possibility of improvidence and unskilful management in individuals. For professional and literary men, for artists, and the poorer gentry, such a scheme would present the greatest advantages. But the time for its adoption is not come: two great moral checks still exist in our social habits—the aristocratic pride not of *being as well off* as our neighbours, but of *seeming better off*, and that commercial jealousy of appropriation which makes us so proverbially like to have *a home of our own*. If ever these feelings decrease among us, I have little doubt that, from the institution of clubs will be dated a vast social revolution. But France, rather than England, is the proper arena for the first experiment of Mr. Morgan’s system.”—England and the English, by Bulwer, p. 152, vol. 1.

principle of united interests fully, yet a sufficient number of them may be selected from their body to make a successful experiment. The efforts, therefore, of all who wish to improve the present state of things, and who have any faith in the principle itself, should be directed to giving a practical proof of its truth; for when once this practicability is demonstrated, the progress of co-operation may be much more rapid than even the most sanguine would suppose. When the locomotive made its first successful trip between Manchester and Liverpool, and proved the practicability and utility of railroads, all difficulties to their farther extension were overcome, capital flowed in that direction, and the country, within a few years, has been intersected with railways from one end to the other.

In making this experiment great care must be taken to invite such among the operatives to associate in it, as shall be able to give undoubted evidence of their industry, sobriety, and general good conduct, and who are well acquainted with the principles of co-operation; and until they have been well practised in these principles, and have given proof that they are fit to govern themselves, they must not be left to their own resources and guidance, but the government of the society must partake of the nature of a despotism. We are much more the creatures of habit than we are aware of until we attempt to break its chains; and the difficulties of those who have first to practicalize a new form of society must be very great; they will require all the aid of the moral and intelligent, and the experience of the most enlightened, with the use of capital for a time. It would, perhaps, not be desirable to carry out, in the first instance, the principle of community of property

to its full extent, but to allow a certain proportion of the joint earnings to each for individual purposes. This need not interfere with co-operation in expenditure in all cases where it would effect a saving, and would allow time for the feeling of personal liberty to accommodate itself to the true principle of its action.

An establishment of this sort would assume at first the character of a joint-stock company for the production of wealth; and when it should be demonstrated that it would afford good security, and pay 5 or 6 per cent. for the interest of money, capital would not be wanting to form such companies as fast as the people could be prepared to join them. The first, placed upon a firm basis, would be a stock from which to graft others; members would be trained and children educated there to carry out the system in new societies. Almost everything has yet to be done, as we have just remarked, to practicalize the scheme, and much will have to be paid for experience; but when once a *form* has been established, when once custom can be brought to bear upon the habits of the members, the greatest difficulty will be overcome. Use and education have made the present form of society so familiar, that we are even unconscious of the restraints to which it subjects us; we are familiarized to our bonds until we fancy ourselves at perfect liberty, and have not even a wish to be released. But every restraint imposed by a new social state would be galling because not customary, and we should appear to lose liberty when even we were gaining it. The greater part of the actions of even the most intelligent are automatic, and the number of these increase with the diminution of intelligence, so that the most necessary thing for those classes who

have at present the least cultivation of intellect, is an established and authorized form of proceeding. When this has once been worked out, the training of members would proceed rapidly; even the least intelligent, the idle, or the morally refractory, drafted in among the moral, the industrious, the intelligent, would soon feel the surrounding influence, and would be insensibly subdued, like the wild elephant between his tamed associates.

Although, therefore, any sudden change to a better state of society is impracticable, and even undesirable, yet a gradual change to a state in which all may enjoy the advantages now confined to a few, is not a mere visionary speculation, but may be accomplished if real philanthropists will turn their efforts in this direction. By their aid, personal and pecuniary, the working classes may in time work out their own temporal salvation, even without Legislative aid; and it is even perhaps to be desired that they should not receive any support of this kind, except that which is given on the principle of "*laissez faire*." We admit to the full amount all the difficulties with which the working men must contend, but they only who can overcome such difficulties without the assistance of Government, will be fit members for the first communities of united interests, since a higher than common average of industry, morality, and intelligence, will be essential to their success, and the very difficulties to be surmounted will help to form such characters. We admit that Parliament, could time be spared from its other important labours, and should it ever feel disposed to assist in earnest the people, may do much towards preparing for such a change, in the spread of Education, so far



as education is possible in the present condition of the poor; and in promoting the carrying out of the co-operative principle in various ways by which the physical comforts of the working orders might be much increased, and better opportunity be afforded for their instruction.\*

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\* The "Drainage of Buildings Bill," founded on the Report of the House of Commons "on the Health of the Poorer Classes in Large Towns," and introduced in an admirable speech by the Marquis of Normanby, February 12, 1841, is one of the few practical measures of this kind. We quote from the excellent speech of Lord Ellenborough on that occasion:—"He believed the moral and religious improvement of the poor to be totally inconsistent with their physical degradation. To build churches, to build school-houses, and to employ clergymen and schoolmasters, was in his opinion utterly idle, while the physical wants and destitution of the poor continued as debasing as they now were. We began too far from the real source of the evil, unless we placed the poor man in such a position that he might have some self-respect—that he might have something like a home. The object of their legislation should be—what perhaps this Bill would do ultimately—to secure a home for the poor man. He (and he now spoke only of the manufacturer,) was driven from his wretched place of abode, and almost compelled to spend his evenings in the gin-shop; his wife followed his example. What should be done, if they wished to improve the general condition of this man, was, to enable his wife to prepare for him a home where his children might welcome him on his return from the day's labour, and where he might hope for some degree of comfort, and enjoy some share of domestic happiness. Without this all attempts to improve the moral and religious condition of the poor were absurd. They must not shut their eyes to the fact that a great practical revolution had taken place in the state of society during the last half century. The proportion between the manufacturing and agricultural population had been altogether reversed, and with this change was altogether changed the structure of society. The landed proprietor was acquainted with the poor man who lived in his immediate neighbourhood; he visited his cottage,

The plan which we here advocate for the amelioration of the condition of the people, or Social Reform, does not depend, therefore, on the Legislature to carry it into effect; it would interfere with no vested rights, injure no existing interests, and require no co-operation but that which would be perfectly voluntary; and its aim would be to let the new system of society gradually, in the course of generations or ages, work out the old. As such communities extended, and furnished themselves with comforts, labourers would be gradually withdrawn from the labour market, and this would have the effect of raising the wages of those that remained,

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attended to his comforts, and took an interest in all his concerns. Farmers took an interest in the well-being of their labourers and servants, and the poor cottagers were full of kindly feelings towards those who were in a similar condition to themselves. There was one bond of connexion between the agricultural population, which made them regard each other as members of one family. But it was otherwise with the manufacturing districts. There they saw beside great wealth the greatest possible misery, with no sort of connexion between the classes so distinguished. Nothing was done, except in a few rare instances, by those who derived benefits from the exertions of the labouring manufacturer, for his moral improvement. This was a fearful state of society, and what they had to guard against was its continuance, and he was quite sure it behoved Parliament to employ every remedy in its power to improve the condition of that class of the community to which he had just referred. It was by good fortune, and through the blessing of Providence, that we had hitherto avoided a pestilence and the plague. The Noble Marquis might have been deterred in the framing of his measure by an apprehension of interfering with what were called vested rights. He (Lord Ellenborough,) did not think that reason sufficient. No man should be at liberty so to abuse his property as to affect the health and endanger the lives of the community; and though he admitted that avarice had its rights, humanity had its rights also, and those ought at least to be equally respected. They

and therefore of improving their condition at the same time, and indirectly by the same means, as that of the others. In the course of a generation or two the members would not only become in a much higher degree moral and intelligent, but polished and refined ; they would possess advantages which the present state of society cannot afford even to the most wealthy, and they would then be joined by those who could have no interest in joining them at their first establishment, and who, from education and habit, prefer the individual freedom and comfort which the few can even now enjoy. The aristocracy of such societies would be

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had of late increased in population and wealth, but these alone were not the certain fruits of national prosperity and strength. That which was more important was, that wealth should be so distributed as to elevate the moral condition of the people, and secure the union of all classes of the community. We might look with pride to the result of the last census—to the extension of our commerce and the increase in imports and exports ; but if we had a demoralised population, increasing every day, and increasing in wretchedness, there was a rottenness at the heart of the structure of society, which must soon extend to the Constitution itself. The change effected in the structure of society by the proportion between the manufacturing and agricultural population being reversed, was in itself a great revolution. In the course, he might say, of a few years, this greatest of innovations had been effected, and it practically changed the whole working of the Constitution and Government of this country. He called the serious attention of her Majesty's Government to this subject, for he was sure that some measure should be at once adopted to raise the physical condition and situation of the manufacturing poor. If that were not done, he agreed entirely with the Right Reverend Prelate that, however excellent their laws, however virtuous their designs, however good their principles might be, they would never produce that moral and religious improvement in the character of the people which they desired."

nature's aristocracy of high talent and good feeling, and the difference of conditions simply that which is dependent upon the difference of age. The young, up to a certain age, would be employed in serving the rest; another period of years would emancipate them from other offices and kinds of labour, and so on, until after a fixed term of years bodily labour in the service of the community would be dispensed with altogether, and the members who had attained to such an age only would be eligible for its governors. No one would require of another to do what he would during one or other of these periods have been unwilling to do himself; and, as we have said before, machinery would soon be made to perform the more irksome and disagreeable kinds of labour.

Possessing everything within themselves essential to comfort and happiness, such societies would be almost independent of the world without them—which might continue if it pleased the game of Kings and Parliaments—of Garters and long-sounding titles, and submit to the reign of fashion as heretofore, but no longer at the expense of the working men, who would now be labouring for themselves in supplying those wants that are really essential. The moral strength of such co-operative associations would everywhere be sufficient to protect them from being plundered either by force or by law, and ultimately to change the face of society as it now exists, turning shadows into realities, and making man, what his Creator intended he should be when he endowed him—not a mere animal—but with Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Attributes.

## CONCLUSION.

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IN the view of human nature we have here taken, of its end and aim, there is everything that is consolatory to the philanthropist, and that has a tendency to expand our hearts in love and confidence towards our Creator. Evil has its origin in ignorance, and the object of pain is to determine our choice to that which is good—from that which would injure, to that which would benefit ourselves and others. Truth then we seek, truth we desire, as the great antagonist of all evil, by which only we can learn the consequences of our actions and acquire power over our own happiness. Falsehood only we fear, and that which, acting upon ignorance and superstition, shall tend to perpetuate its dominion.

Hence the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, or the Law of Consequences, becomes of the highest importance,—teaching as it does, that for every consequence, or effect, there is an antecedent cause, which is always equal, under like circumstances, to produce the same effect, and can produce no other,—thus making us, as we attain the knowledge of such causes, masters over our own condition for good or ill.

The various superstitions fostered in the minds of the ignorant, in all ages and countries, have taken their rise in the misunderstanding of this law. Spiritual agents of every imaginable kind, Gods of the Woods and Streams, of Earth and Air, Genii, Fairies,

Angels, Devils, Immaterial Souls, have all been brought forward to account for effects whose causes lay remote from ordinary sight ; while each of these agents has been gifted with a *free-will*, or power of acting, or not, under similar circumstances, so that the uniformity of the laws of nature has been lost sight of, or has been unknown. All uncivilized nations, and even such as have attained considerable knowledge, refer all natural effects inexplicable to themselves, to the power of spirits or demons. No rational means are therefore taken to secure the blessings, or avert the ills, which come and go at the caprice of these mysterious powers ; but charms, and offerings, sacrifices, and prayers, are used to appease their wrath, or propitiate their favour.

Good and evil have been represented as depending upon the influence of the Stars, of Fate, of Original Sin—upon the conflicting power of Satan with that of the Spirit of God—rather than as the natural and necessary consequences of our own conduct. It has been overlooked that our Creator in giving us Reason, or a capability of foreseeing consequences, has given us power over both good and evil, and that such a gift would have been rendered comparatively useless, if not fatal, if He had permitted the established course of nature—upon which the exercise of reason is dependent—to be interfered with by influences obeying no fixed law, or none, at least, upon which man could calculate.

Since the year 1700 no one has been burnt for witchcraft in our enlightened country ; but the Devil, according to the most favoured creed, is still supposed to be powerful among us. The true character of evil is disguised, and in our popular religious instruction

natural effects are attributed to anything but their real and efficient causes. Our moral and religious teachings are still largely mixed with the superstitions of the dark ages, instead of having for their object to make known the "Law of the Lord"—the Physical, the Organic, the Moral Law—with the natural pains and pleasures connected with it. May we not hope, however, that the time approaches when God shall be known in His works, and a Spirit of Evil no longer be supposed to divide the sovereignty of the earth with Him; when Chance, already dismissed from the physical, shall be banished from the moral world; when especial influences, no longer expected in the one, will not be looked for in the other? May not that be defined as *superstition*, which trusts to any other influence to effect a desired object, than the *natural cause* appointed to produce it? Will it not ere long be received as an axiom, that no other power is ever exercised, but that which we may command again under like circumstances—for does not this contain the very essence of all power and faith?

An immense power is in the hands of the preachers of religion, and the progress of truth must introduce a change in the character of their instructions. The connexion of cause and effect in the world of mind, as of matter, will be insisted upon; the law of consequences, that each must "reap as he sows," will be demonstrated; instead of prayer to God that He will "deliver us from evil," the cause of the evil will be sought and removed; men will be introduced personally to their Maker in the beautiful world that he has created, and in the laws established for their well-being, and it will be clearly shown to them that suffering and

evil inevitably follow the breach of any, the least of these laws ; that no selfish action involving the interests of fellow-beings, not even a selfish or impure thought, but must necessarily bring with it punishment to the individual in *this* state of being, either in positive suffering, or diminished power of enjoyment ; and that as we have ceased to expect the cure of bodily maladies from charms or sorceries, we must cease to expect deliverance from moral evils, by forms of prayer, or religious observances.

To effect all this, the book of Natural Revelation must be carefully interpreted, the order of God's Providence observed, the nature of man's bodily and mental constitution be taught to him, with its relation to everything around. He must be shown the natural boundaries of his mind, that the *order of nature* is all that he can know, and he will thus learn what are mysteries to him, and what in all probability will ever remain so. The true character of evil must be made known to him, the nature of his responsibility and moral obligation ; and the truth that virtue does not consist in useless sacrifice, but in the pursuing of that line of conduct which, upon the whole, must necessarily lead to the highest happiness of himself and others, not *hereafter* but *here*. That is a pernicious doctrine which maintains that evil can only be remedied in a future state, and that happiness here is not the inviolable result of systematic obedience to our Creator's laws. We hold that the contrary can be shown, and that if it can, it ought. The promise to the multitude, of happiness in another world, has been the never-failing plea upon which our religious guides and instructors, and the fortunate *few*, have excused them-



selves from sharing their many comforts and luxuries with their less privileged fellow-creatures, or what would be better, from taking active measures for enabling them to gain such comforts and luxuries for themselves.

When such shall be the character of popular instruction, we shall advance rapidly to a better state of things, for which our mental progress and advancement in physical science have been gradually preparing us. When the Law of Consequences shall be studied and observed, the broad streams of misdirected philanthropy will take their proper course to the ever-stirring ocean of human progression, and the human family will be drawn closer together in the bonds of warm and generous sympathy. Governments will discover that it is their duty to co-operate with this law, to allow of its free unfettered play, so that all may receive the fruits of their industry, and the rewards that nature attaches to virtuous conduct. Criminal codes will be reformed when rulers shall be convinced that a man's character is the *necessary* result of his original constitution, acted upon by the circumstances in which he is placed, and they will endeavour to make mankind virtuous by the improvement, through education, of their natural tendencies, and by removing, as much as in them lies, the causes of vice.

All that has been here advanced, tends, we conceive, to show the progressive nature of man, and consequently of his institutions; and although history has demonstrated that there can be no uninterrupted individual advance of either men or nations, by the recorded persecutions of the great and good, and the decay of all the civilized nations of antiquity; yet

history also shows that the race has steadily progressed, notwithstanding that such progression has not been continued in a regular series among any one people or country.

What may be the particular fate reserved for the British Empire, whether she has already mounted to the pinnacle of her greatness, from which she is henceforward destined to decline and yield the palm of improvement to younger States, like the great empires which have preceded her ;—or whether she is to present an example of a better state of society to the millions she has fostered, and who speak her tongue in distant lands, lies hidden in the future. In tracing the history of civilization, what have appeared to short-sighted human wisdom, to be evils of the greatest magnitude, have proved to be the means of uniting the disjointed interests and of individualizing the great body of society, of drawing first the people of a nation and then nations themselves into one common union for the common good. We may therefore hope that the evils which now afflict the country will have the effect of bringing about the remodelling of its social condition, and the union of its separate opposing interests ; of inducing us to share one common lot and bear each other's burdens, and of turning the enormous powers of production which the advance in science has conferred upon us, to the advantage of the community at large.

But if the course we have been pursuing for the last fifty years is to be the one we are still to pursue—and this seems to be the direction which public opinion takes—if labour and capital are still to be disunited ; if our manufacturing skill and increased powers of production are to continue to be employed in making

a few rich, and in vastly increasing the numbers of the poor; if production is to go on without reference to the producer; and if manufacturing and agricultural employments are still to be separated, we see much cause for apprehension. To make Great Britain the "workshop of the world" may sound well in theory, but if in the process we are to fill the country with towns such as Manchester and Glasgow; if an extended foreign trade is to be as a hot-bed for the production of populations like theirs, depending for the very staff of life upon distant nations, it cannot be consistent with the welfare or safety of the country. In fact, it appears very doubtful whether it would be possible to continue in the same course of policy for another fifty years; and whether the present system shall gently expire in the ordinary course of Nature's proceedings, to be as tranquilly succeeded by a better, or whether a time of anarchy and turmoil, revolution and suffering, shall precede the renovation, will depend, in all probability, upon whether we are seriously and in earnest disposed to study the signs of the times, and to apply ourselves to the amelioration of the condition of the people, while yet there is time.

Let us begin, then, by assisting the working classes to assist themselves; let us make a beginning, show the way to a better state of things, and all the rest will follow. Let us have faith, the only saving faith, in the immutable tendency of the laws of God to produce the good of His creatures; let us press forward in the race of improvement, in perfect confidence that evil is permitted only for our benefit, to make us sensible of our errors, and to compel us to take the path to happiness. The necessity, the physical want which has

distressed the mass of mankind may have been necessary to overcome their indisposition to exertion; and if so, its object has not failed, for it has brought with it improvement in knowledge and in machinery, which, if applied in accordance with the greatest happiness principle, will amply supply the physical requirements of mankind, and allow of time and means for that intellectual and moral training which will create motives to exertion of a more ennobling character than those which now impel him, bringing the best parts of his nature into activity, and immeasurably increasing the happiness of which he is at present susceptible.

Let us then have faith—a faith giving energy and direction to all our efforts, for God has given an omnipotent power to Truth and Knowledge to the overcoming of all evil, and the necessary and inevitable establishment upon Earth of a state equal to that which the warmest anticipations have formed of Heaven,—a state in which physical necessity and pain shall no longer be required to drive man to exertions necessary to bodily and mental health: in which the *powers* of *nature*, employed by the inventive faculties of man through machinery, shall do all undesirable work, and mankind, no longer crowded together in large towns, shall be distributed in families of one or two thousand members, over the different lands, where each individual shall receive all the advantages that civilization now only gives to a favoured few. A state of society in which, by the obedience of man to the laws of his organization, “every bodily and mental faculty shall be perfected”—epidemics and diseases which still ravage society vanishing like those which have already fled before the progress of knowledge, and, by “a

wise disposal of all the circumstances that influence character," vice and mental infirmity disappearing with the causes that produced them ;—in which the moral law shall take the place of universal selfishness,—distinction shall not consist in outward trappings of pomp and power, but in the possession of good and exalted qualities,—and men shall live together as one family, united by the common bond of brotherhood, hating nothing but vice, or that which leads to misery—honouring nothing but virtue, or that which tends to the highest, purest, happiness.

## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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The principle of Co-operation, including a common interest in the produce, has developed itself in a variety of forms in the history of Society. A slight review of some of the modifications which the principle has assumed in past ages, and of its operation in the present, may be useful in considering its prospects for the future.

**Crete.** Minos, in the laws which he gave to Crete, aimed at establishing equality amongst the people, not by making new divisions of land, or prohibiting the use of gold and silver, but by their general scope and tendency, and the tone which they gave to public opinion. He would not suffer any of his subjects to lead an indolent life, whatever might be their rank, but obliged them all to serve in the army or apply themselves to agriculture. The children were all brought up and educated together in the same maxims, exercises, and arts. Rich and poor, men women and children, were fed at common tables, on the same diet, and at the public expense. The land was tilled by slaves and mercenaries, but there is reason to believe that they were treated with more kindness and indulgence than anywhere else. Once a year, at the feasts of Mercury, they were waited on by their masters, to remind men of their primitive equality. These laws subsisted in full vigour for nearly 1000 years, and during this period Crete was held to be the peculiar abode of justice and virtue.\*

\* Rollin. Rees' Cyclop. ; Art. Crete.



*Sparta.* Lycurgus passed a considerable time in Crete in the study of its constitution, and adopted its principles in his celebrated Spartan code. But he went farther in his attempt to institute equality, by dividing the land which had been before in the hands of a few, amongst all his subjects, who were not permitted to alienate, sell, or divide their respective portions. He made 9,000 lots for the territory of Sparta, and 30,000 for the rest of Laconia; each lot being sufficient to produce 70 bushels of grain for each man, (including his household,) and 12 for each woman, besides wine and oil in proportion. When the number of citizens increased so as to occasion inconvenience, they sent out colonies elsewhere. Lycurgus next attempted to divide the moveables, but found this too difficult a task to accomplish by direct means. He therefore stopped the currency of gold and silver coin, and ordered that iron money only should be used, which, from its bulk, could not be hoarded without detection, and which, from its low intrinsic value, offered little inducement to neighbouring nations to bring their luxuries in exchange for it. He discouraged the arts, trade, and commerce, and all intercourse with foreigners, as the sources of factitious wants, of corruption and vice. The meals were common and of the simplest fare; each citizen had a right to partake of them, and each was bound to furnish a monthly contingent towards them, consisting of a bushel of barley meal, 8 gallons of wine, 5 lbs. of cheese, 2½ lbs. of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. The eldest sons, who alone inherited their fathers' land, provided probably for their younger brothers as well as for their children. Simple dwellings, clothing, and food were the portion of all, and one citizen was allowed to make use, when circumstances required, of the slaves, carriages, horses, or goods of another citizen.

Lycurgus thus banished the passions to which wealth gives rise, and as a check upon the rest, he not only caused public opinion to range on the side of moderation, temperance, and rectitude, but he provided a counterbalancing force in the love of country, which,

under the influence of his institutions, became itself an ardent passion. Obedience to the laws, and the dread of living for himself, were the earliest lessons imprinted on the mind of a Lacedemonian. Both sexes were inured to hardy bodily exercises. Marriages were only made at mature age, between persons of sound constitution and vigorous health. Children were examined immediately after their birth by competent judges, and such as were found to be weak or defective were not permitted to live. Those who were pronounced to be sound and healthy were left under maternal care, free from all fear and restraint, until seven years of age; from that period they were educated in common, in the same discipline and principles, under the eye of the law and of the republic. Lycurgus would not permit his laws to be written, thinking that the habits which education produced in the youth would be more effectual than the ordinances of a lawgiver; indeed he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. As for learning, they had only what was absolutely necessary. Music and poetry they delighted in, but the arts were in no greater credit with them than the sciences.

These institutions were maintained in considerable purity for four centuries, and during that period the character of the Spartan people answered to the design of their legislator, limited as that was by the imperfect notions of the nature of man which then obtained; the sons of Sparta were hardy, simple-minded, disinterested, contented, warlike, and averse to all industrial occupations. These latter were consigned to the descendants of the captured Helots, who held a sort of middle rank between the slaves and citizens. The importance of the labour which the Spartans despised, was evinced by the growing strength of the class engaged in it, which proved in the end inimical to the safety of the State.\*

It was the object of Theseus, in legislating for the Athenians, to establish a kind of equality amongst the three bodies into which

\* See Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. "Travels of Anacharsis."

he divided them ; the nobility, who held all public and religious offices, the husbandmen, and the artizans. The consideration due to the first class being balanced by the utility and necessity of the services of the second, and the advantages of both by the superior numbers of the third. Solon afterwards confirmed the principle, and strengthened it by giving a voice in the Government to each class, but it was out of his power to effect what the poorer citizens expected of him—a division of the lands, after the example of Lycurgus ; and neither in Athens, nor in any other of the ancient Republics, do we find any recognition of the principle of common interests to the extent which it obtained in Sparta.\* The public distributions, however, were so liberal in Athens, that its citizens were almost exempt from the necessity of manual labour. The celebrated Agrarian Law, which excited so much disturbance in Rome, appears to have related merely to the more equitable division of public lands, not to any equalization of private landed property.

**Ancient  
Germans.** Cæsar and Tacitus relate that among the ancient Germans, property every year experienced a general change, by a new division of the arable lands, made by the princes and magistrates, no individual being permitted to keep the same portion two years together. Consequently, to avoid disputes, a great part of the land lay waste and untilled.†

**North  
American  
Indians.** Robertson, in his account of the North American Indians, remarks that “they are in a great measure strangers to the idea of property. The forest or hunting grounds are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation. But no individual arrogates a right to these in preference to his fellow-citizens. They belong alike to all ; and thither, as to a general and undi-

\* Rollin's Ancient Hist.

† Gibbon's Rome, vol. 1, p. 295.

vided store, all repair in quest of sustenance. The same principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is subordinate. Even agriculture has not introduced among them a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labour together, and after they have shared the toils of the seed-time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Among some tribes the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and divided among them at stated times, according to their wants. Among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity while those around them suffer want. Thus the distinctions arising from the inequality of possessions are unknown. The terms rich and poor enter not into their language, and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of laws and policy, as well as," the historian adds, "the motive which induced mankind to establish the various arrangements of regular government."

"People in this state retain a high sense of equality, and independence. Wherever the idea of property is not established, there can be no distinction among men but what arises from personal qualities. These can be conspicuous only on such occasions as call them into exertion, in times of danger, or in affairs of intricacy. But during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when there is no occasion to display those talents, all pre-eminence ceases. Every circumstance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb; they feed on the same plain fare; their houses and furniture are exactly similar; no distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions; whatever forms independence on one part, or constitutes superiority on the other is unknown; all are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firmness the rights which belong to that condition. There is little political union among them, no visible form of government. Every one seems to enjoy his natural independence almost entire. If a scheme of public utility be pro-

posed, the members of the community are left to choose whether they will or will not assist in carrying it into execution. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If the elders interpose it is to advise, not to decide. The object of government among savages is foreign rather than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining interior order by public regulations or authority, but labour to preserve union among their members, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigour.

“ But feeble as is the political tie which binds them, their attachment to the community of which they are members is most powerful. Each assents with warmth to public measures dictated by passions similar to his own; hence the ardour with which individuals undertake the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary; their fierce antipathy to the public enemies, their zeal for the honour of their tribe, and love of country which prompts them to brave danger that it may triumph, and endure exquisite torments without a groan that it may not be disgraced. Incapable of control, and disdaining to acknowledge any superior, the mind of the Indian of the ruder tribes, though limited in its powers, and erring in many of its pursuits, acquires such elevation by the consciousness of its own freedom, that he acts on some occasions with astonishing force, perseverance, and dignity. Satisfied with his lot, he is unable to comprehend the intention or utility of the accommodations which polished society deems essential. Unaccustomed to any restraint upon his will or actions, he beholds with amazement the inequality of ranks of civilized life, and considers the voluntary submission of one man to another as a renunciation, no less base than unaccountable, of the first distinction of humanity, whilst he regards his own tribe as best entitled, and most perfectly qualified, to enjoy real happiness.”\*

\* Robertson's America, vol. 1, p. 292.

In this state were most of the tribes eastward of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the confines of Florida, the people of Bengal, of Chili, several tribes in Paraguay, and Guiana, and in the countries from the mouth of the Orinoco to the peninsula of Yucatan. Among other of the American tribes and nations, property and distinction of ranks were found to be established, in conjunction with many of the customary evils. In Florida the authority of the caciques, or chiefs, was hereditary; among the Natchez, some families were reputed noble, while the body of the people was considered as vile, and fit only for subjection. The former were called the *Respectable*, the latter the *Stinkards*. In Bogota, a province of Granada, government had assumed a regular form, ranks were distinct, and their chief reigned with splendour and absolute power. The causes of this difference in the institutions of these latter nations, may be traced to their dependence upon agriculture rather than upon hunting for subsistence; dwelling consequently in one place, and acquiring by degrees objects of selfish interest; and also to the intervention of superstition—a formidable engine for subduing native vigour and independence, and which resided in the hands of their chiefs.

Peru. With a far higher advance in civilization, however, the polished and gentle Peruvians had adopted the principle of common property. “All their lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and the product was applied to the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people among whom it was parcelled out.\* Neither individuals, however,

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\* “Garcilasso de la Vega tells us (Part 1, B. 5, chap. 1,) that it was only when there was more land than sufficed for the people that the Inca and the

nor communities, had a right to exclusive property in the portion set apart for their use. They possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made, in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people, summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labour. By this singular distribution, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common interest, and of mutual subserviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connexion with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of the members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse than subsisted under any form of society established in America."†

Mexico. In the Mexican empire one class possessed property in land in full right, and bequeathed it to their descendants. "The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble and peculiar to the citizens of the highest class. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common store-house, and divided among them

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Sun received their full thirds; when that was not the case these portions were diminished, to augment to the proper proportion that of the people." Mills' *Hist. Brit. India*, vol. 1, p. 259.

† Robertson's *America*, vol. 2, p. 111.

according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *calpulle*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible, permanent property, destined for the support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.” \*

It is said on good authority that the Charaibs, or Caribbees, of the Continent of South America, who are supposed to have had an oriental ancestry, had no division of lands among them, every one cultivating in proportion to his wants. The Caribbees of the Islands “resided in villages which resembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, drawn to a point at the top, and covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of superior magnitude to the rest. It was formed with great labour, and served as a public hall or state-house, wherein, we are assured, that the men (excluding the women), had their meals in common, ‘observing that law,’ saith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these islands in 1506, ‘which, in Lycurgus’ mouth, was thought strange and needless.’ These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators. \* \* \* In these islands where land is scarce, it seems probable that, as among some of the tribes of South America, cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each separate community, and their harvests deposited in public granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public stock. Rochefort indeed, observes, that all their interests were in common.” They displayed considerable ingenuity and elegance in their arts and manufactures. The youth of this remarkable tribe were trained in a more than Spartan contempt for pain. They had no laws,

\* Robertson’s America, vol. 2, p. 145.



and consequently no need of magistrates. The oldest among them had a sort of authority, but it was not rigidly enforced; in times of war, only, a leader was chosen, whose powers of endurance were required to be tested by an ordeal of severe bodily pain. "They were impatient under the least infringement of independence, and wondered how any man could be so base as to crouch before an equal." \*

**Paraguay.** The establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which subsisted until the middle of the last century, supplies us with a remarkable instance of the success of the community principle. "They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they persuaded to settle and form a little township. Having made this beginning, they laboured with such indefatigable pains, and with such masterly policy, that by degrees they softened the minds of the most savage people, fixed the most rambling, and subdued the most averse to government. They prevailed upon thousands of various dispersed tribes of people to embrace their religion, and to submit to their government; and when they had submitted, the Jesuits left nothing undone, that could conduce to their remaining in this subjection, or that could tend to increase their numbers to the degree requisite for a well-ordered and potent society. It is said that eventually their subjects amounted to 300,000 families. They lived in towns; were regularly clad; they laboured in agriculture; they exercised manufactures; some even aspired to the elegant arts. They were instructed in the most exact military discipline, and could raise 60,000 men well armed. From time to time they brought over from Europe several handicraft-men, musicians and painters, principally from Germany and Italy. The country was divided into forty-seven districts, over which a Jesuit presided in chief. No person under the jurisdiction of the Fathers had anything that could justly be called his own

\* Edwards's Hist. Brit. West Indies, vol 1.

property. Each man's labour was allotted him in proportion to his strength, or to his skill in the profession which he exercised. The product was brought faithfully into the public magazines, from whence he was again supplied with all the things which the managers judged to be expedient for the sustenance of himself and family. All necessaries were distributed twice a week; and the magazines always contained such a stock of provisions and goods of every kind, as to answer not only the ordinary exigencies, but to provide against a time of scarcity, or for those whom accidents, age, or infirmities had disqualified for labour.

They provided early for the marriage of their young people. Here, as interest could be no motive to the union, there were few difficulties attending it. The parties were supplied with all necessaries for their establishment from the public stores; and they had at the same time their task allotted to them, by which they were to make amends for what they had received, and to provide for others in their turn.

Under the Jesuit were magistrates, or caciques, of the Indian race, who regulated these details, decided trivial differences, and gave him regularly an exact account of his district, and of the conduct of its people. They were rewarded or punished according to this report. The punishment was by blows, from which not even the principal magistrates were exempted. These were, however, received by all, not only with patience but acknowledgment. The rewards were seldom more than benedictions and some slight marks of the Jesuit's favour, which made these men entirely happy. Nothing, it is said, could equal the obedience of the people of these missions, except their contentment. It is lamentable to think, that the progress of a state of things so promising of social happiness, should have been arrested. The integrity of the Paraguayan commonwealth was destroyed by the cession of a part of the territory to Portugal; and the system introduced by the Jesuits in it has entirely disappeared.\* Similar establishments existed in Cali-

\* Co-operative Magazine for Nov. 1827. See also Muratori's Account of the Government of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

fornia. The celebrated colony of pirates called the Buccaneers of St. Domingo, are said to have had no distinction of property amongst themselves, but to have enjoyed the fruits of their predatory industry in common.

**Hindu Village.** In Mills' History of British India we find an account of the native Hindu village preceded by some interesting remarks on the origin of property. "It is hardly necessary to add," he says, "that the different combinations of benefits which are included under the idea of property, at different periods of society, are all arbitrary; that they are not the offspring of nature but the creatures of will; determined and chosen by the society as that arrangement with regard to useful objects which is, or is pretended to be, the best for all. It is worthy of remark that property in moveables was established, and that it conveyed most of the powers which are at any time assigned to it, while property in land had no existence. So long as men continue to derive their subsistence from hunting; so long, indeed, as they continue to derive it from their flocks and herds, the land is enjoyed in common. Even when they begin to derive it partly from the ground, though the man who has cultivated a field is regarded as possessing in it a property till he has reaped his crop, he has no better title to it than another for the succeeding year.

"In prosecuting the advantages which are found to spring from the newly-invented method of deriving the means of subsistence from the ground, experience in time discovers that much obstruction is created by restricting the right of ownership to a single year, and that food would be provided in greater abundance, if, by a greater permanence, men were encouraged to a more careful cultivation. To make, however, that belong to one man which formerly belonged to all, is a change to which men do not easily reconcile their minds. In a thing of so much importance as the land, the change is a great revolution. To overcome the popular resistance, that expedient which appears to have been the most generally successful is to vest the sovereign, as the representative

of the society, with that property in the land which belongs to the society; and the sovereign parcels it out to individuals, with all those powers of ownership which are regarded as most favourable to the extraction from the land of those benefits which it is calculated to yield. In many of the rude parts of Africa the property in the land is understood to reside in the sovereign. Throughout the Ottoman dominions the Sultan claims the sole property in land. The same has undoubtedly been the situation of Persia in ancient and modern times. 'It is established,' says the late intelligent Governor of Java, (Raffles,) 'from every source of inquiry, that the sovereign in Java is lord of the soil;' and when the fact is established with regard to Java, it is so with regard to all that part of the eastern islands which in point of manners and civilization resemble Java. It is not disputed that in China the whole property of the soil is vested in the Emperor. By the laws of the Welsh in the ninth century, all the land in the kingdom was declared to belong to the King, and 'we may safely,' says Mr. Turner, 'believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the island.' \* "It is not surprising, therefore," continues Mill, "that this was the case with the Hindus.† The sovereign gives away villages and lands, not empty, but already occupied by cultivators, and paying rent. \* \* \* Wherever the Hindus have remained under the influence of their ancient customs and laws, the facts correspond with the inference which would be drawn from these laws. \* \* \* Each village being rated to the government at a certain quantity of rice, which is paid in kind, the land is thus divided among the inhabitants. To every man, as soon as he arrives at the proper age, is granted such a quantity of arable land as is estimated to produce  $242\frac{1}{2}$  measures of rice, of which he must pay  $60\frac{1}{2}$  measures, or about  $\frac{1}{4}$  to the Rajah or King."

\* It is scarcely necessary to add that this law is the basis of the feudal system.

† "There were no hereditary estates in India; for that all the land belonged to the King, which he disposed of at his pleasure.' Persian authority, quoted by Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 132."

“From the reports of Place, Munro, Thackeray, Hodgson, to the Committee of the Commons on East India Affairs, in 1810, the following may be considered as a general picture of the original Hindu institutions, pervading the whole continent:—A village geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundreds, or thousands, of acres of arable and waste land. Politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: the *Potail*, or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village: the *Curnum*, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it: the *Tallier* and *Totie*; the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them: the *Boundaryman*, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in case of dispute: the *Superintendent of water-courses and tanks*, who distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture: the *Brahmen*, who performs the village worship: the *Schoolmaster*, who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write in the sand: the *Calendar Brahmen*, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and thrashing: the *Smith*, and *Carpenter*, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the dwelling of the ryot (or husbandman): the *Potman*, or potter: the *Washerman*: the *Barber*: the *Cow-keeper*, who looks after the cattle: the *Doctor*: the *Dancing Girl*, who attends at rejoicings: the *Musician*: and the *Poet*.

“Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the

villages have been seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and the division of kingdoms, while the village remains entire. They care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the Pottail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village.'

"These villages appear not only to have been a sort of small republics, but to have enjoyed to a great degree the community of goods. Mr. Place, the collector in the jaghire district at Madras, informs us that 'Every village considers itself as a distinct society, and its general concerns the sole object of the inhabitants at large; a practice,' he adds, 'which surely redounds as much to the public good as theirs, each having in some way or other the assistance of the rest; the labours of all yield the rent; they enjoy the profits proportionate to their original interest, and the loss falls light. It consists exactly with the principles upon which the advantages are derived from the division of labour; one man goes to market, whilst the rest attend to the cultivation and the harvest; each has his particular occupation assigned to him, and insensibly labours for all. Another practice very frequently prevails, of each proprietor changing his lands every year. It is found in some of the richest villages, and is intended, I imagine, to obviate that inequality to which a fixed distribution would be liable.'"

Ceylon. If we may credit the relation of Diodorus Siculus, the inhabitants of Ceylon lived in a sort of community in a remote age. He gives an account of the discovery of the island formerly called *Taprobana*, in Scripture, *Ophir*, by one Iambulus,

\* Vol. 1, p. 266.

a Greek, who was landed upon it after sundry adventures. He describes the inhabitants as being unlike us in their bodies and their way of living. They were six feet high, their bones very flexible, their bodies smooth, the opening of their ears wider than ours; and, the historian informs us with the usual mixture of the allegorical or the marvellous, their tongues were divided towards the root, partly by nature and partly by art, so that they could ask a question and give a reply at the same time. "They were divided into tribes, according to their kindred, and into distinct societies, yet so as there were not above four hundred admitted into any society. They lived in meadows, where they were plentifully supplied with all things necessary for food by what the earth produces. They had hot and cold baths for the curing and preventing of all distempers. They were learned in all sorts of sciences, particularly in astrology. They lived long, generally without ever being sick, to a hundred and fifty years of age. Those that were lame, or had any other weakness or infirmity of body, (according to the severe law of their country,) they put to death. They had a law that they might live to a certain number of years, and when they were run up, they dispatched themselves by a strange kind of death, for they had an herb upon which if any one lay down, he silently passed away without pain, as in a sweet sleep. They had not the institution of marriage, and the children were all brought up together with equal care and affection, and while they were infants were often changed by their nurses, so that they could not be known by their mothers, and therefore there being no ambition among them, they lived in great concord and amity together. In every tribe or society the eldest governed the rest as king, and the rest yielded him perfect obedience, and if he put himself to death at the age of a hundred and fifty, the next in age succeeded to his authority."

Diodorus then goes on to speak of the island as if it were one of seven in which the same laws and customs prevailed. "Although the islands produced plenty of provision, yet the inhabitants used

it frugally. Their way of feeding was according to a prescribed rule, for they did not eat all sorts of meat together at one and the same time, nor the same always ; but upon some certain days fish, other fowl, sometimes the flesh of land cattle, at other times olives, and on other days very low and mean diet. They helped one another in their callings and employments by turns ; some employed themselves in fishing, others in manufactures, and others in other things useful and profitable to the commonwealth. Some at certain times did exercise public offices, except those that were grown old."

This Iambulus, after living on the island with his companion for some years, was sent away by the inhabitants. They sailed for some months, and were at length cast on the Indian shore. After encountering many perils he returned to Greece, committed all his adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to India, before unknown to strangers.\*

**Egypt.** Herodotus informs us that Sesostris, who was advised by the priests, " is affirmed to have parcelled out the whole of Egypt, bestowing a square lot of equal size upon every man ; and upon each a certain tax was imposed, to be paid yearly. If any one's lot happened to be infringed upon by the river, he made known the fact to the King, who dispatched overseers to ascertain, by measurement, how much such a parcel of land had lost, in order that in future a proportionate part of the tribute might be remitted."†

**Israelites.** It is uncertain whether Sesostris, or his father, Aménophis, was the Pharaoh from whose persecutions Moses withdrew the Israelites ; but it is a singular proof of the correspondence of the Mosaic with the Egyptian institutions, that either shortly before, or shortly after the Egyptian division of the land, Moses apportioned the lands of the children of Israel upon a

\* Booth's Diodorus Siculus, B. 2, chap. 4. † Taylor's Herodotus, p. 147.



similar principle. He endeavoured to secure a permanent equality of property, to a certain extent, by commanding the restoration of lands sold or alienated, to the original families at stated periods.

**Essenes.** An entire community of possessions became in later ages a distinguishing feature of one of the principal Jewish sects—that of the Essenes. The following extracts from Philo give some account of them:—"These exceeding four thousand, are called Essenes, which name corresponds in Greek to the word 'holy.' For they have attained the highest holiness in the worship of God, and that not by sacrificing animals, but by cultivating purity of heart. They live principally in villages. Some cultivate the ground; others pursue the arts of peace, and such employments as are beneficial to themselves without injury to their neighbours. They are the only people who, though destitute of money and possessions, felicitate themselves as rich, deeming riches to consist in frugality and contentment. Among them no one manufactures darts, arrows, or weapons of war. They decline trade, commerce, and navigation, as incentives to covetousness; nor have they any slaves among them, but all are free, and all in their turn administer to others. They cultivate natural philosophy only so far as respects the existence of God, and the creation of the universe; other parts of natural knowledge they give up to vain and subtle metaphysicians, as really surpassing the powers of man; but moral philosophy they largely study, conformably to the established laws of their country. The Scriptures they interpret in that symbolical sense which they have zealously copied from the patriarchs; and the subjects of instruction are piety, holiness, righteousness; domestic and political economy; the knowledge of things really good, bad, and indifferent; what objects ought to be pursued, and what to be avoided. In discussing these topics, the ends which they have in view, and to which they refer as so many rules to guide them, are the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man. They evince their attachment to virtue by their freedom from avarice,

from ambition, from sensual pleasure; by their temperance and patience; by their frugality, simplicity, and contentment; by their humility, regard to the laws, and other similar virtues. Their love to man is evinced by their benignity, their equity, and their liberality. There exists among them no house, however private, which is not open to the reception of all the rest, and not only the members of the same society assemble under the same domestic roof, but even strangers of the same persuasion have free admission to join them. There is but one treasure, whence all derive subsistence; and not only their provisions, but their clothes are common property. Such mode of living under the same roof, and of dieting at the same table, cannot, in fact, be proved to have been adopted by any other description of men. The sick are not despised or neglected, but live in ease and affluence, receiving from the treasury whatever their disorder or their exigencies require. The aged, too, among them, are loved, revered, and attended as parents, by affectionate children; and a thousand hands and hearts prop their tottering years with comforts of every kind."

They aspired to a greater moral perfection than the rest of the world, and sought to make higher motives the rule of action;—they had an enthusiastic expectation of a new and more perfect state of things, which they called the Kingdom of Heaven;—they were therefore calumniated and persecuted by the ruling powers as innovators. Immoralities were laid falsely to their charge, and their tenets and customs misrepresented. Josephus attests the heroic fortitude with which they met their sufferings in support of their opinions and mode of life. He says also that there prevailed among them a contempt of marriage; but that they received among them the children of others, and educated them as their own, while yet tender and susceptible of instruction. He relates, however, that there was another order of Essenes, who agreed with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differed from them in the point of marriage, "as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is

the prospect of succession ; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail.\*

The Therapeutæ were a branch of the Essenes who devoted themselves entirely to a contemplative life and the exercises of devotion.

**Early Christians.** It is probable that most of the first Christians were Essenes, and that the community of goods and social

organization which they adopted were merely the continuation of the institutions to which they had been accustomed.† But as Christianity spread and numbered among its converts persons of different nations, and of the most opposite modes of life, the bond of union was relaxed into simple affinity of doctrine and

**Monastic Institutions.** feeling. We must, however, except the monastic institutions, which, although not peculiar to Chris-

tianity, have since its first establishment held a conspicuous station in its history, and preserved some of its original characteristics of fellowship and community of interest even when distorted by the absurdities of fanaticism. With relation to their utility as economical societies, it has been remarked,—“ These same religious who seem to live in idleness and seclusion, should be considered as proprietors whom a peculiar constitution has reduced to equality and uniformity. One small portion of them superintends the domestic arrangements, another takes the management of their lands, and so on of all the other possessions which constitute their property. Sheltered by their condition from all the disadvantages attending minorities and other derangements of property, and from the ordinary expenses of secular proprietors, they maintain and increase their capital. It is to these institutions alone that the modern nations, whose barbarous and warlike ancestors poured in like a flood over the countries they now occupy, owe the advantages

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\* War. B. 2, chap. 7.

† Hennell's “ Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity,” chap. 1 and 2.

of the preservation of territories which their ravages would have destroyed, without these places whose privileges secured them from the general destruction. Such were the communities of agricultural monks, and it is impossible to calculate the good these people did to the deserts which formerly served them for retreats."\*

In these instances, and in most of the others which have appeared in Christian countries, the foundation of co-operative unions has been the belief of certain religious doctrines, and an enthusiastic zeal in support of them, not the conviction that this community of labour and property is the best means of securing the comfort and well-being of all; their existence, therefore, depended on the permanence of these doctrines, and of their own enthusiasm, and when these, subject to the usual fluctuation of events and opinions, gave way, the union was dissolved; even where it has been more lasting, the operation of the economical principle has been so cramped and perverted by religious fanaticism, and the influence of absurd tenets, that no test of its efficiency can be deduced. History affords many instances of this, even to our own times.

**Anabaptists.** In 1525, Thomas Munzer, a disciple of Luther, excited great disturbance in Saxony by his opinions, and the violence with which he attempted to propagate them. Wild notions of divine illumination accompanied his proposals to level the distinctions among mankind; and by abolishing property, to reduce them to their natural state of equality, in which all should receive their subsistence from one common stock. Munzer declared that he had the sanction of Heaven to his design, and the peasants of Thuringia, over whom he had acquired a wonderful ascendant, and who, like the rest of their class in Germany, were driven to despair by the exactions of the government and the oppressions of the aristocracy, set about its execution with frantic

\* Encyclop. Econ. Politique, Art. Communauté.

zeal. They deposed the magistrates in many cities, seized the lands of the nobles, and compelled their owners to wear the habit, and take the appellations peculiar to the lowest orders. Great numbers engaged in the undertaking, but neither they nor their leader had military talent, or courage, to resist the forces which the Elector of Saxony and other princes brought against them. Munzer fled, and being taken prisoner, was condemned to death. But his opinions were not extirpated,—they were disseminated by his followers in various places, particularly in the Netherlands and Westphalia. They were called Anabaptists from their chief religious tenet, the necessity of adult baptism. To their system of civil and religious equality they are accused of adding that of a plurality of wives. Two of their prophets, John Matthias and John Boccold, in 1534, seized the imperial city of Munster in the night-time, and made a vigorous attempt to establish their principles. The estates of the senators and citizens who had fled in alarm were confiscated, the churches pillaged, and the produce collected into a public treasury. Matthias commanded his adherents to bring their money and valuables to the common stock, and nominated deacons to dispense it for the common use. Public tables were served, at which all were fed, and the dishes prescribed. The fortifications were repaired, magazines collected, and all persons without distinction obliged to work; Matthias himself inciting them to labour, and to submit to every hardship by his own example. At the end of three months the Bishop of Munster besieged the town, and Matthias was killed in a frantic sally which he made at the head of thirty men, who eagerly followed him “to smite the ungodly.” John Boccold, however, took his place, conducted the defence of the city, and gained even stronger hold over the minds of his disciples. He was a man of wilder enthusiasm and of unbounded ambition, and claimed to be the King of Zion, with which name Munster was dignified, by Divine commission. His claim was acknowledged immediately, and he assumed the state and appointments of royalty. He wore a crown, was attended by a

body-guard, and coined money. His doctrine of the lawfulness, nay, necessity, of a plurality of wives, which he now preached and practised, led to great excesses, which excited the abhorrence of men of all professions. For the space of a year he maintained the city against its besiegers, until, notwithstanding his prudent and frugal economy in the public meals, it was exhausted by famine and suffering; it was only then, however, taken by the treachery of a deserter. The Anabaptists and their King defended themselves with desperate valour; most of them were slain, and Boccold, after being carried in chains from city to city as a spectacle, and enduring insult and torture with unshaken fortitude, was put to death at Munster, at the age of 26. Robertson, from whom this account is drawn, says that "the party still subsists in the Low Countries, under the name of Mennonites; but, by a very singular revolution, this sect, so mutinous and sanguinary at its first origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and, by their industry and charity, endeavour to make reparation to society for the violence committed by their founders."\*

**Moravians.** The United Brethren, Herrnhüters, (Watchers of the Lord,) or, as they are usually called among us, Moravians, furnish us with another instance of the adoption of the social principle arising out of religious zeal. This is a Christian sect which derives its origin from the followers of Huss, the Bohemian reformer; its professors were connected at one time with the Waldenses; the sect was revived, in 1723, by Count Zinzendorff, who established a parent community at Bertholdsdorff, in Upper Lusatia, and spent his life and fortune in supporting and propagating its opinions. "The wild enthusiasm of this sect forms a singular contrast with the wisdom and perseverance of their attempts to convert

\* History of Charles 5th.

and civilize the heathens, as the smallness of their numbers does with the variety and extent of their missionary undertakings. Their method of conversion is through the passions, which they hold must first be excited by terror or sympathy before the understanding can be appealed to."\* They live together in communities; the single men, single women, widows, and widowers forming distinct classes, or *choirs*, living apart from each other, and each under the superintendence of elderly persons of their own class. The children are educated with peculiar care, and in most of their societies they have separate schools for the education of boys and girls. It is not permitted to marry out of the communion on pain of dismissal from the society; the members usually refer their choice to the church, and as the lot, which is their mode of ascertaining the Divine will, must first be cast to sanction their union, each receives his partner as a divine appointment. This might be called a Protestant monastic institution, except for the religious importance which they attach to marriage, a point on which heavy charges were formerly made against them, but which were probably for the most part founded in exaggeration and mistake. In their communities, each person who is able, and is not possessed of independent means of support, labours in his or her own occupation, and contributes the produce to the common fund, or, according to some accounts, a stipulated sum for maintenance. The surplus of the common stock is applied to the missionary undertakings, which are a distinguishing feature of the sect. Their missions have penetrated to all parts of the globe; they have been established in Greenland, India, among the Hottentots, and in China.†

The following account of a Moravian society, established 50 miles from Salisbury, in New England, is borrowed from a French writer:—"Their capital is Bethania, situated on a small river.

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\* Rces' Cyclop.

† See Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.; Milner's Church Hist.; Encyc. Brit.; French Encyclop.

This sect or fraternity possesses a large extent of land. Their polity and internal regulations resemble the monastic. All is in common among them; the youth of both sexes are brought up separately; all social intercourse is interdicted between them until the time of marriage. The state gives to the newly married, a house, a portion of land, instruments of husbandry, household utensils; and the produce of their industry is made over to the public magazine. In childhood they are taught reading, writing, and mechanical arts. The uniformity and singularity of their vestments, and the long beards of the men, which descend to their middle, give them an uncouth and wild aspect. From the earliest age, the children are separated from their parents and placed in public seminaries; from this moment they belong to the society; they are inspired with the love of their country, they are accustomed to regard each other as brethren, and to extinguish the exclusive paternal and filial sentiment; it is even asserted that the parents cannot distinguish their own children from the others. They have excellent agricultural establishments, from which they export large produce; they have also established lucrative manufactures, the principal of which is earthenware, a manufacture in which they excel.\*

**Shakers.** The Shaker communities in America are kindred societies, and deserve peculiar notice since they prove the efficiency of the community system for the production of wealth, at the smallest cost of labour to the individual; notwithstanding that the association being founded in gross fanaticism, they merely supply a limited physical development of the principle, which in its intellectual and moral bearings is totally dead and inert.

The sect of the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, originated in Lancashire with some deserters from the Society of Friends, about the year 1747. Their great female prophet and mother, Ann Lee,

\* Lantier.



having been thought mad and being sorely persecuted, set sail with some followers from Liverpool for New York in 1774, since which time the sect has established itself in America. Their leading practical tenet is the abolition of marriage.†

**Dunkers.** The communities of the Dunkers, or Tunkers, in America, are of German origin. They belong to the General Baptists. In their communities the men and women live distinct in separate buildings, and are not allowed to marry. They live chiefly on roots and vegetables, and eat no flesh except at their love feasts, on which occasions only the brethren and sisters dine together. If they should break through the rule and marry, they are removed to another establishment about a mile distant, called Mount Zion.

**Rappites.** “The society of Harmony (or of the Rappites,) had its origin in Wirtemberg, from a schism of the Lutheran Church, about the year 1785. In 1804, 150 families, under the guidance of George Rapp, their pastor, emigrated to America, and located themselves, in the autumn of the same year, on the waters of Beever, Pennsylvania, giving the name of their society to their new abode. It does not appear that this association was formed from a rational conviction of the many advantages arising from co-operative industry, but from some religious sanction derived from Acts 4, verse 32, “and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but *they had all things in common.*” Here, in a new country, surrounded by strangers, of whose language they were ignorant,—unaccustomed to our modes of clearing the forest,—possessing no more wealth than just sufficient to purchase the soil, and remove to their new possessions, they commenced the doubtful task of providing for themselves the

• Rees' Cyclop.

comforts of life. In this state of penury, surrounded by difficulties, many became discouraged, and left the society; but those remaining had a rich resource in their perseverance and industry, which rendered them in a few years the admiration of the neighbouring country. In the year 1813, the society, already wealthy, became desirous of finding out a more favourable location. They sent Frederick Rapp, one of their members, an adopted son of the founder of their institution, on a tour of observation, with instructions to make four points of advantage the basis of his choice, to wit, a healthy situation—good land—water-power—and convenient river communication. After traversing the six western States for some months, and exploring with attention the points he thought likely to meet the wishes of the society, he at length fixed on the present site of New Harmony, and the adjacent country.

“In the spring and summer of 1814, the society, having sold their possessions in Pennsylvania for 100,000 dollars, emigrated to their new abode, then a wilderness, untenanted by man. Here they were again subjected to the difficulties usually attending the settlement of new countries. In the fall of 1824, ten years from the first settling of what is now called New Harmony, their possessions in this neighbourhood consisted of more than 80,000 acres of valuable land, together with improvements, stock, and personal effects, amounting to the estimated value of one million of dollars. Thus we see a body of people—strangers to our country—ignorant of our language—unaccustomed to our modes of agriculture—imperfect mechanics, and worse manufacturers—through the mere advantage of co-operative industry, acquiring unrivalled skill, enjoying the comforts of life, and outstripping the computation of extravagant calculators in the acquisition of wealth. It is a fact worthy of record, and one that should be well considered by the political economists of a free and enlightened republic, that in 1804, the whole property of this people did not exceed 25 dollars per head: in 1825, a fair estimate gave them 2,500 dollars each person, man, woman, and child; an instance of accumulation in

the laborious professions, to which history does not afford a parallel." \*

Miss Martineau's remarks on these communities, in her "Society in America," are highly interesting, and so pertinent to the subject in hand, that we cannot forbear quoting largely from them. "The most remarkable order of landowners that I saw in the United States was that of the Shakers and Rappites; both holding all their property in common, and both enforcing celibacy. The interest which would be felt by the whole of society in watching the results of a community of property is utterly destroyed by the presence of the other distinction; or rather of the ignorance and superstition of which it is the sign. The moral and economical principles of these societies ought to be most carefully distinguished by the observer. This being done, I believe it will be found that whatever they have peculiarly good among them is owing to the soundness of their economical principles; whatever they have that excites compassion, is owing to the badness of their moral arrangements.

"I visited two Shaker communities in Massachusetts. The first was at Hancock, consisting of 300 persons, in the neighbourhood of another at Lebanon, consisting of 700 persons. There are 15 Shaker establishments or 'families' in the United States, and their total number is between five and six thousand. There is no question of their entire success, so far as wealth is concerned. A very moderate amount of labour has secured to them in perfection all the comforts of life that they know how to enjoy, and as much wealth besides as would command the intellectual luxuries of which they do not dream. The earth does not show more flourishing fields, gardens, and orchards, than theirs. The houses are spacious, and in all respects unexceptionable. The finish of every external thing testifies to their wealth, both of material and leisure.  
\* \* \* Their store shows what they can produce for sale. A

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\* New Harmony Gazette, as quoted in a tract published by the Armagh Co-operative Society, 1830.

great variety of simples, of which they sell large quantities to London, linen drapery, knitted wares, sieves, baskets, boxes, and confectionary; palm and feather fans, pincushions, and other such trifles: all these may be had in some variety, and of the best quality. If such external provision, with a great amount of accumulated wealth besides, is the result of co-operation and community of property among an ignorant, conceited, inert society like this, what might not the same principles of association achieve among a more intelligent set of people, stimulated by education, and exhilarated by the enjoyment of all the blessings which Providence has placed within the reach of man?

“The wealth of the Shakers is not to be attributed to their celibacy. They are receiving a perpetual accession to their numbers from among the ‘world’s people,’ and these accessions are usually of the most unprofitable kind. Widows with large families of young children are perpetually joining the community, with the view of obtaining a plentiful subsistence with very moderate labour. The increase of their numbers does not lead to the purchase of more land. They supply their enlarged wants by the high cultivation of the land they have long possessed; and the superfluity of capital is so great, that it is difficult to conceive what will be done with it by a people so nearly dead to intellectual enjoyments. If there had been no celibacy amongst them, they would probably have been more wealthy than they are; the expenses of living in community being so much less, and the produce of co-operative labour being so much greater, than in a state of division into families. The truth of these last positions can be denied by none who have witnessed the working of a co-operative system. The problem is to find the principle by which all shall be induced to labour their share. Any such principle being found, the wealth of the community follows of course.

“Whether any principle to this effect can be brought to bear upon any large class of society in the old world, is at present the

most important dispute, perhaps, that is agitating society. It will never now rest till it has been made matter of experiment.

"If a very low principle has served the purpose, for a time, at least, in the new world, there seems much ground for expectation that a far higher one may be found to work as well in the more complicated case of English society. There is, at least, every encouragement to try. While there are large classes of people here whose condition can hardly be made worse; while the present system (if such it may be called,) imposes care on the rich, excessive anxiety on the middle classes, and desperation on the poor: while the powerful are thus, as it were, fated to oppress; the strivers after power to circumvent and counteract; and the powerless to injure, it seems only reasonable that some section, at least, of this warring population should make trial of the peaceful principles which are working successfully elsewhere. The co-operative methods of the Shakers and Rappites might be tried without any adoption of their spiritual pride and cruel superstition. These are so far from telling against the system, that they prompt the observer to remark how much has been done in spite of such obstacles.

"There must be something sound in the principles on which these people differ from the rest of the world, or they would not work at all; but the little that is vital is dreadfully encumbered with that which is dead. \* \* \* Their spiritual pride, their insane vanity, their intellectual torpor, their mental grossness, are melancholy to witness. Reading is discouraged among them. Their thoughts are full of the one subject of celibacy; with what effect may be easily imagined. Their religious exercises are disgustingly full of it. It cannot be otherwise; for they have no other interesting subject of thought beyond their daily routine of business; no objects in life, no wants, no hopes, no novelty of experience whatever. Their life is all dull work and no play."

"The followers of Mr. Rapp are settled at Economy, on the Ohio,

18 miles below Pittsburgh. Their number was 500 when I was there; and they owned 3000 acres of land. Much of their attention seems to be given to manufactures. They rear silk-worms, and were the earliest silk-weavers in the United States. At my first visit they were weaving only a flimsy kind of silk handkerchief; last summer I brought away a piece of substantial, handsome black satin. They have sheep-walks, and a large woollen manufactory. Their factory was burnt down in 1834; the fire occasioning a loss of 60,000 dollars; a mere trifle to this wealthy community. Their vineyards, corn-fields, orchards, and gardens, gladden the eye. There is an abundance so much beyond their need, that it is surprising that they work, except for want of something else to do. The Dutch love of flowers was visible in the plants that were to be seen in the windows, and the rich carnations and other sweets that bloomed in the garden and green-house. The whole place has a superior air to that of either of the Shaker 'families' that I saw. The women were better dressed; more lively, less pallid; but, I fear, not much wiser. Mr. Rapp exercises an unbounded influence over his people. They are prevented learning any language but German, and are not allowed to converse with strangers. The superintendant keeps a close watch over them in this respect. Probationers must serve a year before they can be admitted: and the managers own that they dread the entrance of young people, who might be 'unsettled;' that is, not sufficiently subservient.

"I was curious to learn how 500 persons could be kept in the necessary subjection by one. Mr. Rapp's means are such that his task is not very difficult. He keeps his people ignorant; and he makes them vain. He preaches to them their own superiority over the rest of the world so incessantly that they fully believe it, and are persuaded that their salvation is in his hands. At first I felt, with regard both to them and the Shakers, a strong respect for the self-conquest which could enable them to endure the singularity,—the one community, of its non-intercourse with strangers;

the other, of its dancing exhibitions; but I soon found that my respect was misplaced. One and all they glory in the singularity. This vanity is the handle by which they are worked.

“Mr. Rapp is now very old. His son is dead. It remains to be seen what will become of his community, with its immense accumulation of wealth, when it has lost its dictator. It does not appear that they can go on in their present state without a dictator. They smile superciliously upon Mr. Owen’s plan, as admitting ‘a wrong principle,’ marriage. The best hope for them is that they will change their minds on this point, admitting the educational improvements which will arise out of the change, and remaining in community with regard to property. This is the process now in action among the seceders from their body, settled on the opposite bank of the river, a short distance below Economy. These live in community, but abjuring celibacy, and have been joined by some thorough-bred Americans. It will be seen how they prosper.”\*

It is said that there are at least a dozen other communities in America, founded upon the principle of public property, and all successful in a pecuniary point of view. Included in the number

Colony at	is the colony at Zoar.	This consists also of a society
Zoar.	of Germans from Wirtemberg, who, in 1817, emigrated	

to the number of 300 on account of religious and political excitement, under their leader, M. Bäumlér. They are settled at Tuscarawa in Ohio, and export a large surplus of their agricultural produce. “They contracted to dig the Ohio canal throughout the whole extent of their territory, by which they not only acquired 21,000 dollars in ready money, but also made a considerable sum by furnishing the neighbouring contractors with bread. They have likewise built by their own unaided efforts, a large, handsome, and substantial bridge across the Tuscarawa, as well as over the canal, which are open, free of all expense, for the largest carriages. Upon

\* Society in America, vol. 2.

the banks of the canal they have erected a handsome and roomy house as a depôt for their own produce, as well as that of their neighbours, which yields them considerable profit. An inn upon the canal is no less lucrative, as nearly every article of consumption is of their own growing. Their brewery not only supplies their own wants, but also the demands of the two inns in the town, and that on the canal, which it also furnishes with brandy. They have likewise a very well-arranged grinding-mill with a double set of stones. A bricklayer, who is attached to the company, made the drawings for it from a mill at a considerable distance, and has designed and executed the whole of the arrangements with so much skill, that the whole process requires the care only of one man and a boy. To it are attached carding-machines, and a large sawing-mill: in the town is a store containing a threshing-machine, oil, corn, and other mills. The former threshes daily 200 bushels of wheat, and 300 of oats, by means of a single water-wheel. They have likewise, besides various other machines, one for shearing cloth, looms for stockings, linens, &c.: the latter managed by four women. The spinning of the linen-yarn furnishes employment during the winter for the aged women and young children: being very fine, it is in much repute, and sells in the shops for one dollar (nearly 5s.) per lb. A little further on is the bakehouse, where excellent white bread is made by two women; and near it are the shambles, where an ox is killed every week and distributed among the different dining houses. The neighbouring tanneries supply materials for the shoes which are made by two shops for the community, as well as for sale. In two other houses twelve women are occupied in making up shirts, &c. for the members of the whole association. The smith, wheelwright, locksmith, and carpenter, have each their appropriate workshops. Out of the town are some well-managed lime and brick-kilns; where, by means of a machine, two persons are able to make 2000 bricks in an hour.

“The recreation of the community has also been provided for in a very extensive garden in the centre of the town; which, besides



abundance of flowers and vegetables, contains greenhouses for citrons and pomegranates. It is much frequented by strangers who take up their abode in the little inn, where they find a good table in the German style, and pianofortes. These latter are met with in several other houses, and the community pass several hours every Sunday at a little musical entertainment, where they sing hymns, &c.

“ The capital of the colony is estimated at 137,400 dollars, about £34,300, which is altogether clear profit; for the settlers had not a single shilling of their own when they first embarked in this association. Their constitution is as follows:—The chief management of the colony, the keeping of the accounts, correspondence, and direction of divine service, have been unanimously entrusted to their leader, M. Bäumler, who had acquired the confidence of the whole community while they were living in Germany. He is assisted by three directors, who are chosen for three years, but one of whom is obliged to resign every year. The election is by ballot, in which every person of the age of twenty-one has the right of participating. Each director has his own department of agricultural, domestic, and administrative economy; they meet every night at the house of their leader, consult upon matters affecting the welfare of the community, and determine the labours of the following day. On the following morning, such persons as have no stated employment assemble upon a given signal before the house of Bäumler, and each of the directors chooses the person whom he considers best qualified for his particular business. The directors are, however, obliged to take a personal share in the most difficult part of their labours, and to excite their workmen by their example.

“ With this abundance of food and other necessities, it may be truly said that a person may live free from all care in Zoar. Every child, too, from the ages of three or four, is sent to the general public school, which is superintended by three females. The children are instructed in easy labours suitable to their age; the girls,

for instance, in spinning, and the boys in plaiting straw ; so that each has a fixed task, at the termination of which they are turned into the play-ground."\*

Family  
Communities  
in Nivernois.

It appears that a sort of patriarchal community system obtained in the province of Nivernois in France, of which a singular vestige remains to the present day in the Jaults' community, established near St. Benin des Bois, in the department of La Nièvre. An old writer, Guy Coqville, mentions that the rural management of the Nivernois country was carried on by many persons assembled in one family. Each was employed in the different offices of agriculture, according to age, sex, and capacity, under the government of one head, elected by the rest, called the community master. "He attends to business in the towns, fairs, and elsewhere ; has the power to bind his constituents in all moveable property having reference to the affairs of the community, and he alone is named on the rolls of the rates and taxes. By this description it may be understood, that these communities are true families in a college, who by the means of intellect, become like one body composed of several members ; and however the members may be separated one from the other, still by fraternity, friendship, and economic bond, form one single corps. In these communities, the children are prized who can yet do nothing, from the expectation of what they will perform in future ; those who are in their vigour for what they do ; the old for their advice, and for the remembrance of what they have done. Thus in all ages, and in every shape, they maintain themselves, like a body politic, which by handing down, should last for ever." One of these families retaining its usages, still exists, that of the Jaults. It consists of thirty-six members, men, women, and children. The Jault-house is composed of

\* Penny Magazine for Oct. 28, 1837.

an immense hall, having a chimney at each end, opening into a fire-place nine feet in width. By the side of each chimney is a large oven for bread, on the other side a stone vessel for washing, polished by constant use, and as old as the house itself. Close by in a closet is the well which supplies abundantly the house with water. The grand room in its entire length, is flanked by a passage, into which open by as many doors, separate apartments, or cells, in which each family party has its peculiar domicile. These little rooms are kept very neatly ; in each are two beds, sometimes three, according to the number of children. Two presses, in oak, carefully waxed, or else a large chest, and a clothes press, a table, two chairs, and very few effects, comprise the furniture. The formation of this community dates from time immemorial. The titles, which the master preserves in an ark, which was not searched by the incendiaries of 1793, go back beyond the year 1500, and they then speak of the community as of an establishment already ancient. The possession of this nook of earth has maintained itself in the Jault family, and with time it has gradually increased itself, by the labour and economy of its members, so far as to form, by the union of all its acquisitions, a domain worth more than 200,000*l.*, in the hands of its present possessors. They possess in common with the other inhabitants of St. Benin, besides, 400 acres of undivided pasturage, and 300 acres of wood, whence they draw their timber and firing.

At the outset the natural head of the community was the family father ; then the son ; and this natural hereditament continued as long as the direct line was maintained, and that an elder one could be found endowed with a suitable capacity. But, as by degrees, in diverging, the proximity of the kindred became remote, so as only to offer collaterals, the most able of the grown men was chosen to preside over the affairs, and the cleverest woman to manage the domestic business. Besides, the rule of this domestic management is very mild, and the government nearly a nullity. Every one,

according to the testimony of the master, knows his business, and performs it. The principal duty of the master is to conduct the out-door business; to buy and sell cattle; to make landed purchases in the name of the community, according to convenience and cash in hand; which he does not do without taking counsel of his fellows; for, as Guy Coqville has remarked, "these, all living off one loaf, sleeping under one roof, and daily seeing each other, the master is very ill-advised, or too conceited, if he does not consult with, and take the advice of his fellows on important affairs." The property of the community consists,—1st, of the old possessions; 2nd, of the purchases made for the general good with the savings; 3d, the cattle of every kind; 4th, the common chest, formerly in possession of the master alone, but now deposited, by way of precaution, at a notary's in the town of St. Janze.

But, besides, each one has his hoard, consisting of his wife's portion and the effects he has inherited from his mother, or what has fallen to him by gift or bequest, or by any other means distinct from social right. The community only reckons its males as effective members. They alone are the *caput* of the community. The girls and women, so long as they choose to remain, live there and work, are fed and maintained in sickness and in health, and when they marry externally, (which happens most commonly,) the community portions them in ready money. These portions, trifling at first, have risen in these latter days to 1,350 livres. Bating these portions, once paid, neither themselves nor their descendants have any further demands on the property of the community. Only if they become widows, they may return to inhabit the house, and live there as before their marriage. As to women from without who marry any of the members of the community, their portions are not mixed up with it, because it is determined that they shall not acquire any personal right therein. These portions constitute a hoard apart; only they are expected to place 200 livres in the community chest, to represent the value of the furniture given up

to their use. If they become widows they have the right of remaining in the community, and to live there with their children; otherwise they may withdraw, and in that case the 200 livres, which they had originally paid, are restored to them.

No man, being a member of the community, who dies unmarried, leaves property to any body. It is a *head* less in the community which remains to the others in entirety, not by virtue of inheritance, but by the original and fundamental condition of the association. If he has been married and leaves children, they are either boys and become members of the community, where each of them forms a *head*, not by hereditary title, but by the simple fact that they were born within the community and to its profit. If girls they claim a portion, and partake with the sons in the father's store, if he had any; but they can pretend to nothing as their share in the goods of the community, because their father was not a communist with right of transmitting any part whatever to women, who might carry it into alien families; but on condition of living there, labouring there, and of having no heir but the community itself. The ancient Nivernian communities, therefore, constitute a kind of corps or college, a civil personification which continues and perpetuates itself by personal substitution.

If the conscription attaches any member of the community, it grants 2000 livres for a substitute. In case of insufficiency the surplus must be made up from the private purse of the conscript.

As to honesty, there is no instance of a single member of this community being convicted of a dishonest action. Their manners are pure. They are very charitable; no poor person passes by without receiving soup and bread. All the communists, following the law of their association, live thus—the same loaf, pot, and salt. As to the garments, the master distributes to each family flax and wool according to the number and age of the individuals composing it. The health of this tribe is perfect. The men stout and strong; the women robust, some of them pretty enough. Their dress is neat and not inelegant.

"Association well conducted," says M. Dupin, the French jurist, from whom this account is derived, "has its advantages. I have noticed the happy effects thereof, and where it yet exists with good results, I put up prayers that it may ever remain and perpetuate itself."\*

In Auvergne. The custom of Auvergne also authorises these family communities. The Pingons, near Thiers, have subsisted in this manner for more than 600 years, in virtue of the provision of the wise father of four brothers, who directed that henceforth their goods and labours should be common. They never marry out of their community, unless there should be no disposable maiden in it; and when the daughters marry out of it, they take their portion only in money. They live together, flourishing in point of numbers, in innocence, and wisdom, always observing the same customs. Many associations of this nature, and more prosperous still, are found in this same country.†

In the article *Moraves*, written by M. Faiguet, Treasurer of France, in the work just quoted, after some mention of these family communities, it is remarked that the extension of these societies might be very advantageous; and a project is given for the formation of general associations of industrious people, "who, united by the ties of honour and religion, might relieve themselves from the anxieties and vexations which the want of skill and employment render almost inevitable; who, without renouncing marriage, might fulfil the duties of Christianity, and labour in concert to diminish their difficulties, and to procure the sweets of life; an establishment which is evidently desirable, and does not appear impossible." M. Faiguet notices also a community of a similar kind, called the *Clercs de la vie commune*, established among the brethren-shoemakers and tailors, in France, towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

\* New Moral World for June 12, 1841.

† French Encyclop. Econ. Politique.

**Bellers' College of Industry.** In 1696, one John Bellers issued proposals for raising a "College of Industry," as a model society, in a pamphlet published in London. His aim was by a sort of joint-stock association, to secure "profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor, without difficulty, and a good education for youth." It was to be effected by the subscriptions of the rich who were interested in this triple object; and the Government was to be petitioned to incorporate the society thus formed. His plan was to unite, say 300 artizans "of all sorts of useful trades in a college, to work the usual time or task as abroad, and what any doth more to be paid for it, to encourage industry." That for this number a capital of £18,000 should be raised, and laid out,—£10,000 in the purchase of a farm of £500 per annum; £2,000 in stock for the land; £3,000 in tools and materials for the several trades; and £3,000 in new buildings or repairs. He supposes that the labour of 200 would be sufficient to furnish the common stock with food, clothing, and all necessities, and the labour of the remaining 100 for profit to the founders. That the labour of two-thirds would suffice for the subsistence of the whole he judges, because there would be none idle, no shopkeepers, no beggars, no useless trades, no lawsuits, no bad debts, no dear bargains, no loss of time for want of work, to provide for. There would be the advantage of the women's and children's work, and of the saving of much house-room, fuel, cookery, &c., and of the fetching and carrying of work and provisions; several advantages to the land from the number of persons and cattle kept on it, and the advantage of all the hands being ready in time of harvest to secure the crops, besides the advantage to them of change of employment.

The stock to be valued every year, and the profit to be divided, and either paid to the proprietors in money, in goods manufactured in the college, or invested in its enlargement and improvement. Twelve or more proprietors to be chosen every year as an inspecting committee. The governors and under officers to have no salaries, but the reasonable conveniences that the college

could afford them. Punishments to be abatements of food, &c., rather than stripes ; and for the greatest offences, expulsion.

Any having estates in land or money, living under the college rules, and doing the college work, might be permitted to have college allowance, and lay up their own estates. Any giving £15 per annum in land, or £300 in money, or whatever sum might be thought reasonable, might have the right of keeping one person in the college without working, under the rules. Or, paying half the money, and doing half the work, or in any other proportion. Children also to be boarded and educated in all useful learning in the college, who, seeing others work, at spare times would be learning some trade, work being not more labour than play. Education would have many advantages in such an establishment. There would be all sorts of tools and employments for every age and capacity, and the children would very early begin to exercise them. All languages might be taught to them, as their mother tongue, by having some tradesmen of all nations. Men and children submit more easily to the rules they see others submit to than if they were alone. Company being the delight of all creatures, and the college having company enough, the temptation of seeking it abroad would be lessened, and much evil prevented. There might be a library, a physic garden, and a laboratory.

The poor would be made rich in the college by enjoying all things needful in health or sickness, and if married, for wife and children ; if parents die their children would be preserved from misery, and their marrying encouraged. As they grow in years they might be allowed to abate an hour in the day of their work, and at sixty, (if merit preferred them not sooner,) they might be made overseers, which, for ease and pleasant life, would equal what the boards of a private purse can give, without fear of losing. “ And for bodily labour it is a primitive institution of God, that it should earn its bread in the sweat of its brows ; labour being as proper for the bodies’ health, as eating is for its living ; for what pains a man saves by ease, he will find in disease ; and less labour will provide



for a man in the college than out. The regular life in the college with abatement of worldly cares, with an easy honest labour, and religious instruction, may make it a nursery and school of virtue."

\* \* \* "In short, as it may be an epitome of the world by a collection of all the useful trades in it, so it may afford all the conveniences and comforts a man can want, or a Christian use."

The effect of this college-fellowship would be to make labour, and not money, the standard to value all necessities by.

As this body politic would have many difficulties in the beginning to struggle with, it would require to take in at first only useful hands to strengthen and support it, that in time it might be able to bear all the poor that could reasonably be put upon it. The nation must be looked through to find some apt workmen, of good lives and tempers, as a leaven to the rest, "and if the poor prove brittle, let the rich have patience, seven or fourteen years may bring up young ones, that the life will be more natural to. Though it is not natural for the old and rich to live with a common stock, yet it is more natural for the young and poor; witness the hospitals of England and Holland. Old people are like earthen vessels, not so easily to be new moulded; yet children are more like clay out of the pits, and easy to take any form they are put into."

In answer to several supposed objections, John Bellers replies, "If the act be good, we may hope God will raise instruments; for though some men have taken up a rest in their estates, and seek only a provision and diversion for their own families, yet there are many have a touch of a more universal love; and is there not the greatest reason and prudence for good men to place their estates so as to influence many to virtue, especially when it will bring profit with it?"

"When trade is dull the poor will the readier accept new masters and terms; if calamities should come, the poor in a body would submit better than single. If it be supposed that any who can get more than will keep them, will not work in the college for victuals and clothes only—perhaps not; but besides their own keeping there

is laid up in the college stores enough for their children when born ; for themselves when sick and aged ; and for their families when they die. But where good workmen are not at first to be had they may be allowed some wages to instruct the youth, and the advantage of the apprentices will be enough for the profit of the founders. As to the confinement of the college, neither would the poor work if there were not greater inconveniences ; that is starving or robbing, and that is hanging ; and it is not proposed that the confinement should be more than is absolutely needful for the good government of the college."

"To reconcile different interests," John Bellers concludes, "and to answer objections that are contradictions, will be difficult ; as for the rich man to say it will yield no benefit to the undertakers, and at the same time for the poor to object, the proposals give too much to the rich and too little to them. For answer, I say, that as the proposition seems to have all the profit the earth and mechanics can raise anywhere, so it cuts off all superfluity and extravagancies used among others ; and consequently raises the greatest stock both for founders and workmen, which is the point I aim at. Whilst I am not willing to admit of the supposition, that though such advantage is offered to the rich and poor, they will lose it for want of agreeing how to divide it, hoping that there are but few would make out the story of covetousness and envy, who when they were offered, whatever the first asked, only the second should have double to what the first asked, could not agree which should ask first. However, I have this satisfaction, I intend the advantage of both, whilst I think the method will afford both profit to the rich and plenty to the poor. I will not pretend to seek any method of living in this world that hath no inconveniency in it, but only what hath fewest. But till the rich be satisfied to put it afoot, the poor cannot if they would, for want of materials."

The Frisons. "The modern provinces of Friesland Proper and Groningen, and the principality of East Friesland,

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comprehend the country which was formerly distinguished as *Frisia Libera*. Liberty may be entitled a mountain nymph by the poet, but never did she find a surer domicile than amid the fens of the Netherlands. Nature has treated man more kindly than the philosophers; they would regulate his capacity for freedom according to the elevation of the mercury in the weather-glass; but she teaches him to defy their rules, and to laugh at their speculations. *Free Friesland* was worthy of the name. The common greeting of the people was neither simple *wassail*, nor *peace be with you*; but they saluted one another with 'health, thou noble freeman!' In the 12th century, they no longer feared the sword of the Emperor, nor did they very much respect his sceptre. The slight authority which the head of the Holy Roman Empire retained in a few districts, was only acknowledged in theory. Military tenures did not exist, nor were they ever introduced into the country; and the priesthood had no temporal authority. The independence and self-rule of the Frieslanders was so striking, when compared to the rest of Europe, that it was forced upon the notice of old Bartholomew, though the writers of the middle ages seldom advert to constitutional polity. Bartholomew, whom we quote in the venerable language of his translator, Trevisa, is emphatic in his description of Frisia. 'The men,' says he, 'ben hye of bodye, stronge of vertue, sterne and fiers of herte, and swift and quiver of bodye. They ben *free*, and not subjecte to lordship of other nations; and they put them in perill of dethe by cause of freedom. And they hadde lever dye than be under the yocke of thraldome. Therefore they forsake dygnyte of knyghthoode, and suffre none to ryse and to be greater among them under the tittle of knyghthode, but they ben subject to judges that they chese of themselfe from yere to yere, which rule the comynthe among them.' "

"Land, contrary perhaps to what might have been expected, was held freely and allodially, and feudal tenures and vassalage were wholly unknown. The laws distinguish between land acquired by descent, or held by common right, and land acquired by purchase,

or by deed, called *cap-lond* and *bok-lond*; the latter apparently corresponding with the Anglo-Saxon tenure."

"A custom prevailed amongst the Frisons, somewhat analogous to Borough English; land was partible, but the younger son was preferred, by taking the head tenement, and the chief portion of the patrimony; and if territorial authority was annexed to it, the rights of jurisdiction passed undivided to the youngest son. Thus, in 1358, Kampo, the youngest son of the noble Wiard Abdena, succeeded to the lordship of Aurich, to the exclusion of his elder brother. This custom of preferring the youngest son exists also in some English manors. All the lands in a district, called the Theeland, (Frisick, *Teelan*; Angl. Sax. *Tilan*; Eng. *to till*,) lying in the bailiwick of Norden and Bertum, are held by a very extraordinary tenure—we speak in the present tense, for the customs of the Theeland were subsisting in the year 1805; and we do not suppose that they have since become obsolete. The Agrarian law, elsewhere a phantom, either lovely or terrific according to the imagination of the spectator, is here fully realized. The land is considered as being divided into portions, or *Theels*, each containing a stated quantity: the owners are called Theelmen or Theelboors; but no Theel-boor can hold more than one Theel in severalty. The undivided, or common land, comprising the Theels not held by individuals, belongs to all the inhabitants of the Theeland, and is cultivated, or farmed out on their joint account. The Theel-boor cannot sell his hereditary theel, or alienate it in any way, even to his nearest relations. On his death, it descends to his youngest son. If there are no sons, to the youngest daughter, under the restrictions after mentioned; and in default of issue, it reverts to the commonalty. But elder sons are not left destitute: when they are old enough to keep house, a theel is assigned to each of them (be they ever so many,) out of the common lands, to be held to them and their issue, according to the customary tenure. If a woman who has inherited a theel, becomes the wife of a Theel-

boor, who is already in possession of a theel, then her land reverts to the commonalty, as in case of death without issue. All lawsuits and disputes are decided in the Folkmote, which is held once in each year; and no appeal is allowed from its decision.

“ Faithful to the customs of their Scythian forefathers, the Teutons and Scandinavians did not willingly abandon the principle which secured the equal enjoyment of the gifts of nature to every individual in the tribe or sept. The Gothic nations, emigrating from their native wilds, spoiled those who had been enriched and enervated with the treasures of Asia: yet after the frame of society had been erected again out of new and heterogeneous elements, the community of land was still cherished and retained by them. It is now well ascertained that metes and bounds promote the welfare of the husbandman,\* and we never regret to witness the creation of the hedges and ditches, which, by the authority of Parliament, invade the ‘open and unenclosed common fields,’ derived from Scythian polity. Yet if Horace were to return from Elysium, he might even now be rejoiced by beholding the vestiges of the free harvests of the Scythians and the Getæ; and Tacitus might almost be quoted at Westminster Hall, when an action is brought for a *shifting* or *changeable acre* in an English common field. We can still trace the steps by which the boundless liberty of the Nomadic races was partially restrained into conformity with the wants of incipient civilization. They broke and ploughed the ground; the crop became as valuable as the pasture; they needed bread corn, and were no longer contented with milk, and the flesh of the slaughtered animal; agriculture advanced, but they did not cease to be shepherds and herdsmen; and the territory over which they were spread continued to be the property of the community. Hence arose the system of annual allotments of land, which were sown in severalty, but grazed promiscuously after the reaping of

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\* So says the Reviewer, and so perhaps would the husbandman if he were permitted to enclose an equal share.

the harvest. This is the 'special manner of common,' which in Norfolk is called 'Shacke,' or 'Shock.\*'

"In Normandy all unenclosed arable and pasture lands were subject, by the custom of the country, to the same 'special manner of common;' and the season when the Normans fed and grazed *promiscuè*, was called the Bannon.† By this system of alternate cultivation and pasturage, the generous freedom of patriarchal simplicity was in some measure combined with the churlish *meum et tuum* of the Iron Age. And the tenures of the tillers of the Theeland were gradually framed to answer the same end."‡

Towards the end of the last century, when society was shaken to its foundation by the conflict between old and new principles,—when for a time the bonds of long-established usage were loosened and unfelt, the generally-received axioms of social polity were freely re-examined. Among other points that came in question was that of the present constitution of property. Rousseau had said, "He who first enclosed a piece of land and said *this is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe it, was the real founder of civil society. How many wars, crimes, massacres, how many miseries and horrors would that man have spared to the human race, who, levelling the boundary and filling up the ditch, should have cried to his fellows, 'Beware of listening to that impostor; you are lost if you forget that the fruits belong to all, and the earth to no one!'" "But though," remarks the French writer who quotes

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\* "To have *Shacke*, is as much as to say, to go at liberty, or at large."

† "Coutumes de Normandie, Art. 81-5. Paswage has the following note :— 'Le mot *banon* est pris pour le temps auquel les terres ne sont ni cultivées ni ensemencées, et qu'elles sont libres à quiconque y veut mener ses bestiaux sans la permission du propriétaire, ce qui s'entend des celles qui ne sont point closées de hayes ou de fosses, lesquelles sont défendues en tout temps.'"

‡ Edinburgh Rev. July, 1819. Article on East Friesland. "For a most interesting account of this district, and of the happiness and prosperity prevailing in it in consequence of this system, see also 'Travels in the North of Germany,' by Mr. Hodgkins." Monthly Repos. Feb. 1821.

his exclamation, "he detested the institutions of property and the advantages which it gives to the idle, whom he calls *thieves*, he proposed no plan for repartitioning in a manner useful to society, this 'earth common to all.'"

The various theories and projects of equality propounded and experimented upon during the convulsions of the French Revolution, present us with an ill-digested confusion of philosophy and absurdity, common sense and extravagance, and most of their visible effects disappeared when the re-action took place, and the former system was partially restored. But the doctrines then stormily agitated concerning the natural right of man to what makes life desirable, had struck deep into many philosophic and inquiring minds, and from them an impulse has been given to Social Reform, of which the effects are powerfully and increasingly felt. In England the echoes of the French Revolution were spread widely through the writings of Godwin and others of his school, and the rights and claims of man as a social being, became themes of discussion among all classes. They had often been descanted upon by learned men and philosophers, but now for the first time the minds of the many were awakened to them.

Godwin's "Political Justice," In "Godwin's Political Justice," published in 1793, he asserts the right of man as man, possessing a common nature, to common advantages;\* and that the only inalienable right to property is the right every one has to that, "the possession of which being awarded to him, a greater sum of benefit or pleasure will result, than could have arisen from its being otherwise appropriated." Political Justice implies, according to this author, the admission of these principles, and he anticipates a perfect equality of condition when society shall have adapted itself to them. The following are some of the leading ideas of his concluding chapters on Property:—

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\* Montesquieu asserted nearly the same thing when he said, that the State owes to every citizen "proper nourishment, convenient clothing, and a kind of life not incompatible with health."

The good things of the world may be divided into four classes,—subsistence, the means of intellectual and moral improvement, unexpensive gratifications, and such gratifications as are by no means essential to healthful and vigorous existence, and cannot be purchased but with considerable labour and industry. It is the last class principally that interposes an obstacle in the way of equal distribution. It will be matter of after-consideration how far, and how many, articles of this class would be admissible into the purest mode of social existence. But in the mean time it is unavoidable to remark the inferiority of this class to the three preceding. Without it we may enjoy to a great extent, activity, contentment, and cheerfulness. And in what manner are these seeming superfluities usually procured? By abridging multitudes of men to a deplorable degree in points of essential moment, that one man may be accommodated with sumptuous, yet, strictly considered, insignificant luxuries. Supposing the alternative could fairly be brought home to a man, and it could depend upon his instant decision by the sacrifice of these to give to five hundred of his fellow-beings, leisure, independence, conscious dignity, and whatever can refine and enlarge the human understanding, it is impossible to conceive him to hesitate. But though this alternative cannot be produced in the case of an individual, it will perhaps be found to be the true alternative, when taken at once in reference to the species. The possession of these things is chiefly prized from the love of distinction inherent in the human mind; and this love of distinction may be diverted into other channels. The monopoly of wealth, or of luxury, may come to be associated with public reprobation and contempt, while generous, exalted sentiment, talent, and virtue, may be as conspicuously honoured.

There are three degrees of property, the first, already mentioned, being a permanent right in the means of subsistence and happiness; hence it follows that no man may in ordinary cases make use of my apartment, furniture, or garment, or of my food, in the way of barter or loan, without having first obtained my



consent. The second degree of property is the empire to which every man is entitled in the produce of his own industry, even that part of it the use of which ought not to be appropriated to himself; but still it is in the nature of a trust, the possessor is the steward, and these things must be trusted to his award, checked only by the public opinion around him. The third degree of property is that by which one man enters into the faculty of disposing of the produce of another man's industry: this it is clear is in direct contradiction to the second, but it is in vain to attempt to abolish it by positive institutions, until men's dispositions and sentiments have changed. The distribution of wealth in every community, must be left to depend upon the sentiments of the individuals of that community. If in any society wealth be estimated at its true value, and accumulation and monopoly be regarded as the seals of mischief, injustice, and dishonour, instead of being treated as titles to attention and deference, in that society the accommodations of human life will tend to their level, and the inequality of conditions will be destroyed. A revolution of opinions is the only means of attaining to this inestimable benefit. But where laws and practices not common to all civilized communities, but peculiar to some ages and countries, tend to increase the evils of the accumulation of wealth, such as the system of ranks, entails, distinctions in landed property, the claim of primogeniture, &c., they ought to be abrogated by the express decision of the community; not, however, suddenly. "It may be doubted whether the genuine cause of reform ever demands that in its name we should sentence whole classes to wretchedness; persuasion, and not force, is the legitimate instrument of the human mind."

The established administration of property leads to a mean servile spirit of dependence of one class upon another, and exhibits a perpetual spectacle of injustice. The rich man stands forward as the principal object of general esteem and deference. In vain are sobriety, integrity, and industry,—in vain the sublimest powers of mind and the most ardent benevolence, if their possessor be

narrowed in his circumstances. To acquire wealth and to display it, is therefore the universal passion. All riches, and especially hereditary riches, are to be considered as the salary of a sinecure office, where the labourer and the manufacturer perform the duties, and the principal spends the income in luxury and idleness. Hereditary wealth is in reality a premium paid to idleness, an immense annuity expended to retain mankind in brutality and ignorance. The poor are kept in ignorance by the want of leisure. The rich indeed are furnished with the means of cultivation and literature, but they are paid for being dissipated and indolent. The most powerful means that malignity could have invented, are employed to prevent them from improving their talents, and becoming useful to the public. This leads us to observe that the present administration of property, is the true levelling system with respect to the human species, by as much as the cultivation of intellect is more valuable and characteristic of man, than the gratification of vanity or appetite. Accumulated property treads the powers of thought in the dust, extinguishes the sparks of genius, and reduces the great mass of mankind to be immured in sordid cares, besides depriving the rich, as we have already said, of the most salubrious and effectual motives to activity. If superfluity were banished, the necessity for the greater part of the manual industry of mankind would be superseded; and the rest, being amicably shared among the active and vigorous members of the community, would be burdensome to none. Every man would have a frugal, yet wholesome diet; every man would go forth to that moderate exercise of his corporeal functions that would give hilarity to the spirits; none would be made torpid with fatigue, but each would have leisure to cultivate the kindly and philanthropic affections, and to let loose his faculties in the search of intellectual improvement. How rapid would be the advance of intellect, if all men were admitted into the field of knowledge! If all adopted the suggestions of truth, and the lethargy of the soul were dismissed for ever!

All great occasions of crime would be cut off. All men by nature love justice; the fruitful source of crime consists in the circumstance that one man possesses in abundance that of which another is destitute.\* Hence oppression, servility, fraud, envy, malice, revenge. No man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide with anxiety and pain for his restless wants, each would lose his individual existence in the thought of the general good. Were the stumbling block of accumulation removed, each man would be united to his neighbour in love and kindness a thousand times more than now; but each man would think and judge for himself.

As the equality contemplated would be the result, not of force and requiring to be maintained by positive institutions, but of the serious and deliberate conviction of the public at large, it would be permanent — and until then it could not be realised. And as this presupposes a state of great intellectual improvement, motives for exertion could not be wanting. It is thought, acuteness of disquisition, and ardour of pursuit, that set the corporeal faculties at work. Thought begets thought.

It is desirable to reduce as much as possible all manual labour which is not our uninfluenced choice, but society would not therefore lose the comforts and conveniences of civilization; for, after its joint industry had supplied the rigid necessities of life, considerable time would remain; how would men dispose of it? Not probably in idleness, not all men, and the whole of their time, in the pursuits of disquisition and science. A large portion would probably be devoted to the production of such accommodations as give real pleasure, apart from all the insinuations of vanity and ostentation. Thus it appears that a state of equality need not be a state of stoical simplicity, but is compatible with considerable accommodation and even splendour, if by splendour we understand

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\* "Most of the crimes which disturb the internal peace of society, are produced by the restraints which the necessary, but unequal laws of property have imposed on the appetites of mankind, by confining to a few the possession of those objects that are coveted by many."—Gibbon's *Rome*, vol. 1, p. 113.

copiousness of accommodation and variety of invention for the purpose of accommodation.

If it be feared that such an equality of condition would increase population beyond due limits, it may be answered, that Europe might by better cultivation be made to support five times its actual inhabitants, and that three-fourths of the habitable globe are yet lying waste.

In this equality of condition, Godwin strenuously maintains the right of natural independence, or freedom from all restraint except that of reason and understanding; he disapproves, therefore, of supererogatory co-operation in labour, magazines, or meals. He holds that all co-operation implies a diminution of private liberty, and consequently the necessity for it is to be reduced as much as possible by simplifying wants, and the mode of supplying them, and by making machines execute the work of men, in proportion as "mind becomes omnipotent over matter." This dread of the infringement of intellectual independence he carries so far as to make it an objection to the institution of marriage, as it now exists; his speculations upon this subject, and upon the possible future dominion which the mind of man may acquire over his physical frame, to the annihilation of the gratifications of sense—of pain—and even of death, seem more extraordinary than sound; but he gives them chiefly as speculations.

Godwin proposes no plan for the realization of his system of equality; his aim is to exhibit principles which by effecting a gradual revolution in the sentiments of mankind, shall in time produce the change he contemplates. He addresses himself to the feelings and ideas prevalent at a time when the outrages of the French Revolution had associated the idea of violence with innovation. He deprecates strongly any change in established customs, except from reason and calm conviction, and he does not believe that the rich and the great will be callous to views of general happiness, when such views are brought before them with that evidence and attraction of which they are susceptible. They are peculiarly

qualified to judge of the emptiness of that pomp, and of those gratifications which are always most admired when seen from a distance. They will frequently be found indifferent to these things and to resign them without reluctance ; but, however this may be, they will fight in vain against truth. In the progress of modern Europe from barbarism to refinement there has been a tendency to the equalization of conditions. In proportion as the monopolies of rank and incorporation are abolished, the value of superfluities will decline. Increased liberality of dealing and distribution will follow, and the pursuit of wealth will gradually give place to the love of liberty, of equality, the pursuits of art, and the desire of knowledge. In the meantime the contemplation of such a state will impress us with a just apprehension of what it is of which man is capable, and in which his perfection consists, and will fix our ambition and activity on the worthiest objects.\*

The principles enforced in this celebrated work lie, with more or less of close application, at the foundation of more than one plan of social regeneration which claims especial notice.

St. Simon  
and his  
System.

The system of St. Simon, which has excited much attention in France, may be called a system of united interests, although he disclaims a community of property. It is founded on religious zeal, like most of the Christian societies we have alluded to, and its aim is to introduce *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, by which is understood the Roman Catholic Religion, in a state of perfect purity, but it embraces exalted views of universal philanthropy.

Claude Henri, Count de St. Simon, was born at Paris in 1760, of an illustrious house, which claimed descent from Charlemagne. The nobility of his birth was a powerful and ever present stimulus to his mind, and he was early impressed with the conviction that he was called to a high destiny—that to the glory of having pro-

\* See Political Justice, vol. 2, Book 8.

duced a great monarch, his family would, through him, join that of producing a great philosopher. "Rise, Monsieur le Comte, you have a great work to perform," were the words with which at seventeen he caused himself to be awakened every morning. At the age of eighteen he entered the American army, and served five campaigns under Washington. Interested deeply in the object of the war, he supported the painful and irksome duties of the military profession, but they were repugnant to his taste. He says of himself, "My vocation was not that of soldier; I desired a different and even contrary field of action. To study the march of the human mind, and then to work at the perfecting of civilization—this was the end which I proposed to myself,—to this I consecrated my whole life, and from that period this new work began to occupy all my powers. The rest of the time that I remained in America, I employed in meditating on the great events which I witnessed; I sought to discover their causes and foresee their consequences. From this moment I discerned in the American Revolution the beginning of a new political era; that this revolution would necessitate an important progress in general civilization; and that in a short time it would cause great changes in the social order which then existed in Europe."

During the French Revolution which followed, filled with pain at the horrors which accompanied the struggles of a nation to regenerate itself, he avoided taking part in the purely destructive movement, and occupied himself with efforts to perfect a doctrine which should re-establish society on new foundations. He aimed at instituting "a grand Establishment of Industry, and a School of Scientific Perfection;" and spent nearly all that he possessed in the attempt, before he was obliged to relinquish it for want of pecuniary means, or of efficient assistance; he then for many years devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and to scientific undertakings. Several productions of his pen upon these subjects appeared from time to time, and attest both his genius and enthusiasm.

But it was chiefly towards a social, practical object, that he strove to stimulate the learned. He perceived the new character which the development of industry must impress on society, and the forms of government. For ten years his writings tended to point out to the industrious classes the new social part which they are destined to perform. In 1814 he published his tract on the "Reorganization of European Society," which closes with the often-quoted sentence, "the golden age is not behind but before us; it consists in the perfection of social order; our fathers have not seen it; our children will realise it; we must smooth the road for them." "L'Industrie" followed in 1817, in which the representative system is considered as a transition step between the feudal system, and the new order of society to be introduced by industry. "L'Organisateur," "Le système Industriel," and "Le Catéchisme des Industriels" were published in succession. During this time St. Simon suffered from poverty, neglect, and an utter want of sympathy, from any quarter, in his exalted views, and at length his spirit sank—he attempted to put an end to his existence. The shot was ineffectual, and subsequently his enthusiasm revived, and he believed that a mission still was committed to his hands—that in addition to his character of sage—of the Apostle of Industry—he was the prophet of "the new Christianity." In the enthusiastic language of his followers, "Moses has promised to men universal fraternity; Jesus Christ has prepared it; St. Simon has realized it. At length the true Church Universal comes; the reign of Cæsar ceases, the military gives way to the peaceful; henceforward the Church Universal embraces the temporal as well as the spiritual, that which is external as well as the internal. Knowledge is holy—industry is holy, for they serve to ameliorate the condition of the poor, to bring them to God. Priests, men of science, the industrial classes—these compose our Society. The Chief of the Priests, of the learned, of the industrious—these compose our Government. All wealth is the wealth of the Church, each profession is a religious function, a grade in the social hierarchy. To

EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY ; TO EACH CAPACITY ACCORDING TO ITS WORKS. The reign of God comes on the earth—all prophecies are accomplished.”

From this crisis of St. Simon's life until his death, his mind became more calm and peaceful ; still poor, deserted, despised, or forgotten, he laboured to establish his principles, until in 1825 he expired, in the presence of one disciple and two or three friends, exhorting them “to be of courage and go forward constantly.”

The spirit of the master animated the hearts of the devoted few ; with much personal sacrifice they preached and published his doctrine ; until within a few years from his death, the two or three followers had become a numerous association united in a generous devotion to the common cause—the moral, intellectual, and industrial elevation of the future generations of man. “Already,” says a writer in the *Monthly Repository* for Feb. 1831, “crowds of auditors, nobles, deputies, persons of rank, consideration, and talent, flock to hear the eloquent expositors of this doctrine ; some persons of considerable ability write in its support ; one at least of the public journals (*The Globe*,) strenuously advocates its principles, and there are some indications of its extending in the provinces.” 3000 persons were said to attend the meeting of the St. Simonites, 23rd Nov. 1830, in their Hall at Paris. In the article just quoted it is observed, “that although their leading object is the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes, they admit into their society only persons of some influence, either from their station or talents.” St. Simon was himself of “gentle blood,” and his system is marked with his aristocratic predilection, for although his rulers and nobles were to be those distinguished by benevolence, talent, or industry, still society on its new basis presented itself to his mind in the form of a monarchy, or more correctly as a hierarchy, rather than as a republic. Some of his leading views we extract from the French volume published in 1828-29, “*Doctrine de St. Simon. Exposition.*”

According to St. Simon, society has exhibited itself in the alternation of two distinct phases, which he calls the *organic* and *critical*



epochs. During the continuance of the first, the arrangements of society are made on a general theory, and the end of social action is clearly defined; in the second, unity of action has ceased, and society presents only an agglomeration of individual interests clashing one against the other; its object is the destruction of the established order of things, and a complete divergence of feelings, reason, and action, is the result.

Twice have these alternations taken place in the history of civilization. The first *Organic Epoch* preceded the general breaking up of Paganism, led on by the writings of the Greek Philosophers, and which was the commencement of the first *Critical Epoch*. This terminated in the consolidation of the power of the Christian Church, which remained firmly established during the continuance of the second *Organic Epoch*. The second *Critical Epoch* commenced with the Reformation in the 15th century, when the regularly organized power of the Church was invaded. The proof that society is still in this state is found:

First,—in the political struggles between power and liberty which everywhere distract society.

Secondly,—in the want of general philosophical theory, and unity of design among the followers of science, owing to which the vast heaps of isolated facts collected do not contribute as they ought to do to its advancement; while governments and society withhold their patronage from all speculative philosophy, and attach reward only to that which is susceptible of immediate and *profitable* application.

Thirdly,—in the non-application of theoretic principles to industrial occupation, each artisan depending upon his individual intelligence, and working out with infinite difficulty improvements in his manufactures for himself, which a scientific education would have imparted at once to the whole body, and which he strives, thanks to competition, to keep secret from his fellow-labourers;—in these he sees only enemies, and their ruin is his advantage. He cares little for the interests of society,—his family, his tools, his

hard-earned gains—these constitute his humanity, his universe, his God. Are the workshops, and the instruments of industry in the hands of such as could make the best use of them? Far from it. They are, generally speaking, in the possession of unscientific operatives, whom *individual interest* has not yet taught what it is necessary for them that they should know.

In order to harmonize production with consumption, political economists give us the sole general principle of *laissez-faire*, or of *non-interference*, but they have confided to individual interest the realization of this grand principle, without reflecting that no individual capacity is competent to apply it. Each seeks from his circumscribed point of view to ascertain the exigencies of consumption. Does one branch of production offer a fair chance? Labour and capital blindly precipitate themselves in that direction, without calculating the necessary limits—and political economy rejoices that competition is called into play. A few succeed—but at the price of innumerable victims. The balance of production and consumption is every moment disturbed; hence commercial catastrophes and crises, and the temptation to add fraud to industry in the struggle for success.

Besides, the principle of *laissez-faire* supposes individual interest and general interest to be the same, which a thousand facts disprove. Society sees its advantage in the adoption of steam-machinery; the operative who lives by the labour of his hands cannot look upon it as society does. Competition says *everything will find its level*—true—but until then what shall be done with the millions of the starving?

Land, machinery, capital, can only be employed to the greatest advantage in production when confided to industrial *talent*; at present the talent to make use of them is a feeble title to their possession. To acquire it is first necessary to possess, and the chance of birth distributes blindly the instruments of production. Hence it results that great as are the present effects of industry, its powers

would be infinitely better developed with unity and co-operation of design, and that without the miseries which are now its inevitable concomitants.

Fourthly,—the want of unity and general aim is exhibited in the languor and depression of the Fine Arts, in which term St. Simon includes all the developments of the finer human feelings and sentiments, which now lie chilled and spiritless in an age of universal selfish, calculating, interest. Our finest poems are anti-social, they are either mournful or satirical—breathing passionate regrets, or the spirit of contempt which despoils all sacred things. Man is not now to be touched by appeal to his sympathies, he only dreads attack on his purse.

If the social affections are thus dead and inert, are the individual ones all the more intense? On the contrary we find that pecuniary interest too often forms the marriage bond, and that filial tears are assuaged by the transports of inheritance.

This aspect of humanity would be heart-rending did not a bright future even now reveal itself, when men united in affection, opinion, and action, shall advance in peace towards a common destiny;—when the sciences will progress in unison towards a rapid development,—industry regulated by the interest of all, be no longer a system of strife,—and the fine arts, animated by the enthusiasm which will proceed from mutual communion, shed their sweetest influence over the joys of private intercourse.

This glorious future—is it attainable? It is the *necessary* consequence of the past. Humanity is a collective being, and perfectibility the law which guides it; from the progress which it has made, may be demonstrated that which it will make. History presents us with a uniform advance from the earliest rude association of man with man, towards one in which love, knowledge, and wealth will flow in a full tide of happiness. Whenever a nation or people has ceased to progress, it has fallen to decay and become extinct, whilst the seeds of advance have been transported elsewhere; and the race of man first united in families, in clans, in

castes, in nations, in confederacies, is travelling towards this universal association, which, while it will be the *perfection* of society, will ensure the rapid and unlimited *progress* of man. Our efforts must therefore be directed to transform education, legislation, property, and all social relations, so as to realize as soon as possible this future.\*

Slavery, the use of man by man (*exploitation*), was the reigning principle of society in its first stages; a remnant of it still exists in the relation of proprietor and workman. The workman is no longer the direct property of the master—it is true that the condition of service is temporary, agreed on by both parties—but is the transaction free on the part of the workman? It is not, for he must accept it on pain of his life, or what is the same thing, the means of life. In a degree the labourer is subjugated physically, intellectually, and morally, even as the slave formerly was, and these labourers are the immense majority of the population in all societies.

If we hold that this use of man by man must cease, that we are advancing to a period when all men, without distinction of birth, will receive from society such an education as shall develop to the utmost their several capacities, and, being classed according to these, shall be rewarded according to their works, it is evident that the present constitution of property must be altered which permits the transmission of wealth by inheritance, and consequently some to be born with the privilege of being idle, and of setting others to work for them. But, it will be said, the labourer must pay for the use of the productive powers possessed by the capitalist. Granting for a moment that these productive powers are real, who has the right to dispose of them, of whom are they the property, to whom ought they to be transmitted? Three principles have been appealed to in order to determine this question, divine right, natural

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\* The St. Simonians complain that Guizot in reviewing the course of history has borrowed the ideas of their master.

right, and utility. But if man be a progressive being these rights must progress with him. What then is their decision at the present point of his advancement?\*

Property has been generally considered sacred, yet legislation

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\* "The object of political economists does not relate to the principle of property so much as to show how wealth is produced, distributed, and consumed; it signifies little to them to ascertain if this wealth, produced by *labour*, is always to be distributed according to *birth*, and the larger portion of it consumed by *idleness*.

"Neither Montesquien, Grotius, Puffendorf, nor any of the other writers on the Laws of Nations have remounted to the principle which legitimates the principle of inheritance, nor examined whether this constitution of property be susceptible of improvement; whether it has been the same in all ages, or why it was made hereditary. They have done nothing in fact to prove the applicability of the feudal transmission of property by right of birth, to the present entirely different state of society, nor to reconstitute it on a basis adapted to the present and future wants of humanity.

"Monsieur de Sismondi, in his chapter on 'The laws intended to perpetuate property in land to families,' attacks forcibly the opinion of Legislators that property acquired by labour may be retained for ever in idleness; but he speaks only of property in land, and does not perceive that his reasoning applies no less to property in general."

The St. Simonian writer can scarcely be considered as correct in asserting the silence of writers on jurisprudence and political economy with relation to the origin and constitution of property: the subject is too important not to have been frequently treated of. Whether it has yet been fully and sufficiently discussed is another question.

With respect to the *principle* of hereditary succession, the historian Gibbon asserts that it is so universal as to appear to be founded in nature, the *order* alone being various, as established by convenience or caprice.

Upon the same subject, a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, makes the following observations:—"We are apt to conceive at the first view that the right of inheritance has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was no *natural*, but merely a *civil* right. It is probable that the right of inheritance arose from the fact that a man's children or nearest relatives are usually about him at his death-bed, and are the earliest witnesses of his decease; they become generally the next immediate occupants, till at length this frequent usage ripened into general law. And therefore in the earliest ages, on failure of children a man's servants, born under his roof, were allowed to be his heirs; being immediately on the spot when he died. For we find Abraham expressly declaring 'That as God had given him no seed, his steward Eliezer, one born in his house, was his heir.'" Article on Property.

has never ceased to regulate its nature, usage, and transmission. Man was once the property of man ; the moralist and legislator have declared this kind of property no longer tenable. Three different laws for the transmission of property have been sanctioned by custom and the legislator within our series of civilization. By the first the proprietor could dispose of his wealth arbitrarily, in or out of his family ; by the second it was restricted to his eldest son ; later still the law requires its equal division amongst all his children.\* These revolutions could not be effected without the general moral sanction, and whatever this demands the legislator must eventually confirm. The rights of property are visibly on the decline. The advantage which capital has over labour is decreasing, as is proved by the lowered rates of interest. The privilege of living in idleness is more and more difficult to preserve. Another change is become necessary ; it is for the moralist to prepare it ; in the course of time it will be for the legislator to prescribe it. The law of progression is tending, notwithstanding the general feeling of the inviolability, one may almost say the sanctity, of the present law of property, to establish a new modification of it—one which shall convey to the state, become an *Association of Labour*, the right of inheritance. The privileges of birth will cease, and the sole right to riches will be the capacity to make use of them.

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\* This of course relates to the descent of property in France. Gibbon says, " Among the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance. At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers. In England, the eldest son inherits all the land. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown : the two sexes were placed on a just level ; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate ; and if any of the sons had been intercepted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided, by his surviving children." Rome, vol. 7, p. 292.

This change is necessitated by the progress of the human race. The title to property has been founded in the right of conquest, in force, or a delegation of force; henceforward the title will be labour, *pacific* labour, conferred directly on each proprietor, but only in the nature of a trust for further production. All will have to labour, except the young who are preparing for it, and the old who are reposing after it, and they who now live on the sweat of the aged labourer, or the tears of the orphan, will work to provide bread for infancy and age.

By property is understood the wealth which is not immediately consumed—or *capital*—either in land or money, or as it is in effect, *the instrument of labour*. At present this instrument is in the hands of individuals incompetent to determine its direction and distribution, so that the harmony of production and consumption may be preserved. To this end it is necessary that the system of industry should be organized.

In the past ages of the world, when the physical strength of society was devoted to war, when riches were sought in conquest, and the force of man was held to be most worthily employed in the exercise of arms, we find a systematic organization for the purpose in the feudal system. Prior to its establishment we find an individualizing spirit in warlike labours, like that which now prevails in our industrial operations; the principle of competition, of liberty, reigned in the hostilities not only of different nations, but of those in the different provinces, towns, or castles, of the same country. In this age this same principle of free competition, of animosity, exists between the merchants and manufacturers of each country, province, town, trade, and shop, and the same remedy is required of a systematized organization of the pacific industry, in which the physical activity of man is, in future, only to be developed.

The institution of corporations was a step to the realization of this idea; in this system the admission of each new trader implied that his capacity had been recognized by competent judges, and

that judges equally competent had decided upon the existing deficiency of capital and labour in that particular branch of industry. But these associations, first intended as a defence against the military institution, and in this point of view highly useful, were founded in the hostile anti-social principles of the times, and tended to the monopoly of every species of industry, treating the consumer as the soldier had formerly treated the *villain*, while each individual corporation was at war with all the rest, like the barons of old. There is reason, therefore, to rejoice at the breaking up of these institutions; but still nothing better replaces them. The principle of unlimited competition is negative only. Without unity of action, no balance, no harmony, no proportion exists between the different orders of labour, and crises and commercial convulsions are the result. What in effect is the realization of unlimited competition but war to the death, in a new form, between nation and nation, individual and individual?

In the midst of this disorder, the germ of the true system of industrial organization evolves itself, as if by an instinctive effort. It is to be found in the system of Banks. These serve as the medium between the labourer who wants the instruments of labour, and the possessors of these instruments, who either know not how to employ them, or will not; they fulfil in part the function of distribution, so ill-exercised by capitalists and proprietors. A *general system of Banks* may serve then to designate, provisionally, the future organization of social industry which is required, but this will not realize itself in its plenitude until the *Labour Association* shall be prepared by education, and sanctioned by the Legislature; it cannot be completely realized until the law of inheritance shall have been changed.

In the system of St. Simon, then, a central bank would represent the government in the physical or industrial department; this bank would be the depository of the entire productive fund; that is of everything which now composes individual capital. Upon this central bank would depend banks of a second order, by means of which it would maintain relations with the principal localities, and



ascertain their wants and productive power; these again would command other banks more and more special in their objects, the more slender branches of the tree of industry. To the superior banks all demands would converge, from them all operations would diverge, and the chief bank would only grant *credits* to different localities after having balanced and combined the different operations concerned; these credits would be afterwards apportioned to the operatives by the special banks, representing the different branches of industry.

In an industrial society thus constituted we see everywhere a chief, masters and inferiors; everywhere *legitimate* authority, because the chief is he who is the most capable; everywhere *free obedience*, because he is beloved; everywhere order; no workman in want of a guide and support in this vast workshop; all have the tools they know how to use, the work they like to be employed upon. The artisan will possess tools, machinery, and capital, in the same sense only as the colonel possesses his military equipment, his soldiers, his arms; and nevertheless all will work with ardour, for he who produces can love glory, can feel the stimulus of honour, even as he who destroys. The only tax upon labour will be the portion reserved to supply the physical wants of those whose office it will be to develop the intellect and moral powers of all.

As the object proposed is to change the system of feelings, ideas, and interests, without upsetting society, to construct not to destroy, to introduce gradually and by evolution a regeneration of the world, the primary agent in effecting it must be education.

Education will, no less than industry, require to be systematically organized, made accessible to all without distinction of birth or fortune, and distributed according to individual capacities and tastes. Moral, or general education,—the object of which is to initiate into the relations of social being, to inculcate the love of all, to direct all desires, all efforts, to the common happiness,—as the most important, will be given to every one as the founda-

tion on which all special training must rest. The first series of education will include, besides this, a general education of the intellectual and physical powers up to a certain point, when, according to the different capacities and vocations of the pupils, they will be distributed into the three great schools—of the *Fine Arts*, (including all that relates to the moral powers and sensibilities,) of *Science*, and of *Industry*. In these each class will receive a general preparation for the subordinate branches of each; and when this is completed, the young members will be placed in special schools for each profession and trade, until society shall confide to them the office for which education has now thoroughly prepared them.

With respect to legislative power, the sole aim of the future system, the hypothesis on which it is built, is the organization of a supreme power which shall be, from its possession in the highest degree of the necessary qualifications, *loved, cherished, venerated*, and consequently implicitly *obeyed*. But as progress in itself implies imperfection, anomalous cases cannot be entirely excluded, and some error will have to be checked and repressed; there must be, therefore, a penal jurisdiction, and this will correspond to the above three general classes—the philosophical trinity of the St. Simonites.\* Crimes against the moral sentiments and relations will be referred to a court composed of members trained in the school of moral science; offences against the interests of science will come under the jurisdiction of a scientific magistracy; while all conduct injurious to the progress of wealth, or development of industry, will be brought under the cognizance of industrial tribunals composed of men actively engaged in corresponding pursuits—the guardianship of the interests of industry will not be entrusted to the idle, in virtue of their inherited property. In our present

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\* “To know whether an offence be crime against society, it is necessary to know the proper constitution of society; the possession of this knowledge implies superiority in the judge over the offender, therefore the principle of *trial by jury*, or by a man's equals, is erroneous.”

Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce the incipient development of this system is to be discerned. The alteration in the laws of property will cut up by the roots the endless litigation to which they give rise.

Neither will legislation be solely, as now, *penal*, occupied in the repression of palpable crime, but it will be remuneratory, and distribute the honour and glory due to pre-eminent virtue, as well as the corrective punishment due to error.

The completion of the St. Simonian doctrine is to be found in the future full development of the religious sentiment which it contemplates. "The religion of the future will not be merely the result of inward meditation, a feeling or idea isolated in the assemblage of feelings and ideas of each individual; it will be the expression of the collective mind of humanity, the synthesis of all its conceptions, the rule of all its actions. Not only is religion called to take place in the social economy, but the social institution of the future will be no other than a religious institution." The existence of a God, of a Providential Plan, of an Immortality, will be its fundamental axioms; obedience to the will of God will be its instrument of action; universal love or benevolence its manifestation. He in whom this love glows with the purest, most intense, flame, will be exalted highest, and will be placed at the head of the social hierarchy, as God's vicegerent on earth.

The opinions and views of this sect seem to be, in the more important characteristics, identical with those of the advocates of a community of property; but St. Simon carefully repudiates this idea; and his successor in his *Apostleship*, and in the absolute devotion of his followers, *the Father Enfantin*, repels in a letter which closes this "Exposition," a charge on this and another subject, made in the Chamber of Deputies Sept. 1830. His answer includes a summary of his own doctrine, whilst it proceeds upon a misapprehension of the other. He says, "The system of a community of goods is universally understood, of the equal division amongst all the members of society, of the productive fund, and of

the fruits of the labour of all. The St. Simonites reject this equal division of property, which would constitute in their eyes a greater violence, a more revolting injustice, than the unequal division formerly effected by conquest; for they believe in the *natural* INEQUALITY of men, and look upon this inequality as the basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order. They reject the system of a community of goods; for this community would be a manifest violation of all the moral laws which they are commissioned to teach, and which ordain that in the future *each one will be placed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his works.*

“ But in virtue of this law they demand the abolition of all the privileges of birth *without exception*, and consequently the destruction of INHERITANCE the greatest of these privileges, which in fact comprehends them all, and the effect of which is to leave to *chance* the partition of social advantages among the small number of those who can claim them, and to condemn the most numerous class to *vice, ignorance, and misery*. They demand that all the instruments of labour, land, and capital, which now form the mass of private property, shall be united into a social fund, and that this fund shall be employed by association and HIERARCHICALLY, so that the task of each shall be the expression of his *capacity*, and his riches the measure of his *works*. The St. Simonites only attack the constitution of property in so far as it consecrates to some the impious privilege of IDLENESS, that is, of living on the labour of others; and in so far as it abandons to the *chance of birth* the social classification of individuals.

“ Christianity has emancipated women from slavery, but has condemned them to inferiority, and throughout Christian Europe we see them submitted to religious, political, and civil interdiction. The St. Simonites announce their enfranchisement, their complete deliverance, but without seeking on that account to abolish the holy law of marriage proclaimed by Christianity: on the contrary, they come to fulfil this law, to give to it a new sanction, to add

power and *inviolability* to the union which it consecrates. They demand like the Christians that one man shall be united to one woman, but they teach that the wife shall be equal with the husband; and that according to the especial grace which God has accorded to her sex, she shall be associated with him in the exercise of the triple functions of the temple, the state, and the family: so that the *social individual* which has until now been *man* only, shall henceforth be *man and woman*. The religion of St. Simon seeks only to put an end to that shameful traffic, which, under the name of marriage, consecrates so frequently the monstrous union of devotedness with selfishness, of intelligence with ignorance, of youth with decrepitude."

In the enthusiasm which the first preaching of these doctrines excited in France, numbers associated together to reduce them to practice, including men of high capacity, moral purpose, and wealth. The property of all was thrown into the *productive fund*, and given out in *credits* to the members, *according to their capacity*, at the discretion of the appointed rulers. With new modes of thought and action, new habits of life and manners were associated; upon broad and exalted principles were engrafted trivialities and absurdities. The members established themselves in a community in Paris; the fraternity dressed in uniform; the men wore long beards, and the women absurd and uncouth garments. According to the remark of a highly intelligent countryman of our own, who has been intimately acquainted with their leading members, and cognizant of their proceedings, it was not long before the vital error of the political arrangement of the system began to work. Irresponsible power defiles the hand which holds it, however pure and unsullied it might seem before. Disorders, economical and social, crept in, and when the money which had been poured into the common fund was all dispersed or wasted, the society, as a society, dissolved away, but its doctrines remained firmly impressed on many minds of superior order, have been widely diffused, and are exerting great influence at the present day in France.

Robert Owen. In our own country the cause of social union has been advocated by Robert Owen, for more than twenty years with an ardent patient zeal that has perhaps never been equalled. His leading object appears to have been to give to the world a practical exemplification of the truth of the doctrines which others before him have preached. He re-published, in 1818, the "Proposals" of John Bellers, and with great candour and ingenuousness admitted that these exhibited the main features of his own plan for improving society.

Mr. Owen was born at Newtown, in North Wales, in 1771. He was early devoted to trade, first in London and subsequently in Manchester, where, at the age of twenty, he was employed in the management of a large cotton spinning factory. In the year 1799, he removed to New Lanark, having, in conjunction with his partners, purchased the cotton mills of Mr. David Dale, whose eldest daughter he soon after married. In consequence of a dissolution of partnership, the whole property was subsequently sold, including the village of New Lanark. Mr. Owen purchased it for himself and the partners whom he had been fortunate enough to unite with himself in a new firm—six individuals who sympathized warmly in his benevolent views—Messrs. Walker, William Allen, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Forster, members of the Society of Friends; Mr. Michael Gibbs, and the late Mr. Jeremy Bentham. Mr. Owen retained five shares for himself, and, besides the profits arising from his shares, he was allowed one thousand per annum for his superintendence and management.\* The mills had been erected near the Falls of the Clyde, by Mr. Dale, in 1784, for the advantage of the water power, otherwise the spot was not well chosen. The country was uncultivated, the roads bad, the inhabitants few and poor. Manufacturing labour and confinement in a mill were then so disliked by the Scotch peasantry, that none but persons without friends, employment, or character, could be induced to submit to it.

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\* See Owen's sketch of his life in the Appendix to his "Development of Principles and Plans, &c." 1841. "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century."

As a means of raising up labourers, five hundred children were collected from workhouses and charities in Edinburgh, and accommodated in a large house erected for them, where they were maintained and educated. But the proprietor being compelled to make use of their labour to defray the expense of the establishment, his wise arrangements for their happiness and improvement were nullified. Their labour throughout the day, and education at night, became so irksome that numbers ran away, and most left when their apprenticeship expired. The adult population was in a wretched state, they lived in idleness, poverty, dishonesty, and almost every kind of crime; consequently in debt, out of health, and in misery.

In this state Mr. Owen found them when he entered upon his task of superintendence, and commenced his arduous attempt to reform and make them happy—well qualified by previous experience among similar classes in England, but ignorant of their local habits, manners, and prejudices. His mind had been long impressed with the evils of society, and intently turned upon the means of cure; he had formed the resolution of devoting his life to the endeavour to relieve the miseries of mankind. He attributed their cause to men's having forsaken the paths of experience, and sound deductions from real facts. The only mode in which he conceived it possible to remedy these miseries was, not by giving precept upon precept, but an actual example of the possibility of reforming men's characters and habits, and of placing them in such circumstances as should lead them to take as much pains to make each other happy as they had before done to make each other miserable; and at the same time to use to the best advantage the means they possessed, of living in health and comfort. He had tried the effect of his principles on a limited scale; he was now anxious for a more enlarged field of action.

The people were strongly prejudiced against a stranger, an Englishman, and one of a different creed; they took it for granted, that his design was to make the greatest possible gain out of their

labour. For two years he combated their perverse opposition, and he ultimately prevailed; the population could not continue to resist a firm well-directed kindness administering justice to all; they began to give him some portion of confidence, and by degrees he was enabled to develop his plans for their improvement. To remedy the prevalent dishonesty no person was put in restraint, no punishment was used; but checks and preventive regulations were introduced, which made theft more difficult, and more easily detected; while short and plain expositions of the immediate benefits they would derive from different conduct were given to them by some, instructed on purpose, among themselves. They were led at the same time into lawful and useful occupations more gainful in fact than the former. Intemperance was attacked in the same manner; it was discountenanced by the superiors, and its baneful effects were commented upon by his wiser comrades, when the individual was suffering in soberness from his excess; public-houses were gradually removed from the close vicinity of the people; they were led to feel the benefit to health and comfort of temperance; and by degrees drunkenness disappeared. When disputes occurred, the manager represented to each party the wrong which usually attached to both in such cases, and the superior advantages of forgiveness and friendship. Sectarian jealousies were cured by the same friendly admonitions, which aimed to convince them that inasmuch as all believed conscientiously, they were all upon an equal footing, and that it was great folly to neglect the essence of religion, whilst they cherished its worse than shadow, sectarianism. Other kinds of misconduct were met in a similar manner, and were beyond expectation lessened. Children under eight years old were no longer employed in the mill, and their parents were exhorted to allow them health and education until ten; they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic from five to ten in the common school. Modern improvements in the art of giving instruction were adopted, and it became a pleasure to the children to learn; they were more



anxious for the hour of school-time than for its conclusion, and of course their progress was rapid.

In the meantime the houses were made more comfortable and the streets improved; the best provisions were purchased, and sold to the inhabitants at a low rate, though covering the expenses. Fuel and clothes were furnished to them in the same manner, and they were taught how to proportion their expenditure to their income. They were taught to be rational, and they acted rationally; those employed became industrious, temperate, healthy, faithful to their employers, and kind to each other, while the proprietors were deriving services far beyond those of a mere mercenary connexion. In the space of sixteen years, a complete change was effected in the general character of the village, containing eventually 2,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a continual influx of new comers, and the daily intercourse maintained with the borough of Lanark, which was within a mile of the works.

That which had been hitherto done for the community of New Lanark chiefly consisted in withdrawing some of the unfavourable circumstances which had caused their bad habits; at this period arrangements were made for surrounding them with circumstances of a different character; for leading them into valuable domestic habits, neatness and cleanliness in their dwellings, the most economical methods of preparing food, and above all for teaching them how to train up their children into valuable members of the community. As a means of effecting these ends, a building called the "Institution for the Formation of Character," was erected in the centre of the establishment, with an enclosed space in front to serve as a playground for the children, from the time they could walk alone until they entered the school. Each child was made to understand, upon his admission into this play-ground, that he was to do all in his power to make his companions happy. At meal-times and at night they returned to their parents with a pleasure and eagerness enhanced by the short separation. A room

in the lower story of the building was appropriated to receive them in bad weather. The parents at first demurred at the idea of sending their infants of two years for so many hours from under their own charge; but in the course of three months the superior intelligence and moral promise of those who had been thus sent were so conspicuous, that before the end of the first year every child in the village was sent to the school, and before the conclusion of the second, the parents petitioned that their children of thirteen and fourteen months might be introduced. As they advanced in years they were admitted into the preparatory schools, where, before the age of six, they were initiated into the rudiments of common learning. After passing through these schools, they entered the general schoolroom for reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing and knitting; at ten years of age they were taken into the works. Boys and girls were taught to dance; the boys were instructed in military exercises, and such as had natural talents for them, in singing and music. This was the first model of our Infant Schools, and if Mr. Owen had rendered no other service to mankind, this would have merited a rich meed of praise.\*

At the close of each day the apartments, after being cleaned and ventilated, were thrown open for two hours of the evening, for the instruction of the children and youth who had been employed at work during the day. The lower rooms were appropriated to the adults, who were provided with every accommodation to read, write, converse, or walk about, strict order and attention being paid to the comfort of each. Two evenings in the week the amusements of dancing and singing were indulged in by such as chose to join in them. One apartment was devoted to the occasional useful instruction of the older inhabitants, concerning the best management of domestic concerns, the training of their children, and the wisdom which directs our intercourse with each other to the end of

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\* The first Infant School established in London was the one in Vincent-square, Westminster, under the management of Buchanan, a teacher from New Lanark. "Hampten of the 19th Century."

mutual happiness. The schoolroom was fitted up to serve as a chapel for the purpose of religious instruction.\*

For nearly thirty years Mr. Owen conducted this interesting undertaking with a degree of success which justified his anticipations, and attracted considerable notice both in our own and foreign countries; visitors distinguished for character, talent, and rank, resorted to New Lanark, to witness and admire the results of the judicious experiment. In 1829, however, he resolved upon quitting this position for the sake of devoting himself, altogether, to the preaching of the truths which it had served to demonstrate, throughout the civilized world, and of persuading Governments to act upon the principles which he had elicited. Perhaps he forgot for a moment his own maxim, that "to act is better than to speak." Like the Hermit of old, he has carried his cross through the nations, but they have not yet risen to welcome its approach; and notwithstanding his unwearied exertions during repeated visits to the United States, to Mexico, the West Indies, and at a later period, to France, Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, besides the different portions of the British kingdom, he still points to the establishment at New Lanark as the only satisfactory instance in which his plans have been, though partially, tried. But although we may regret that a full trial of his system was not made on a spot, which, for almost the space of a generation, had received the benefit of his philanthropic exertions, and at a time when his practical mind was in full vigour and he had the prospect of long years before him in which to mature his design, yet it must be allowed that he has cast far and wide seeds which may spring up, under future culture, to an abundant harvest.

New Some years before he quitted New Lanark—in April,  
Harmony. 1825—Mr. Owen had purchased the settlement of Har-  
mony, in Indiana, of Mr. Rapp, on advantageous terms,  
and here he proposed to establish a society which should serve as a

\* See Owen's "Essays on the Formation of Character."

model for other communities, and in which the principles of union, common property, and co-operation should be carried out. In the March preceding he delivered an address at Washington, before the President of the United States and the Members of Congress, containing a detailed account of his plan, and proposing, as a step to the full realization of his scheme, a preliminary society in which members should be trained for the more perfect association; in this society they would not be upon an entire equality with regard to property, but all arrangements would be adapted to this end. His views met with considerable sympathy among the Americans; and during the first three months of his settlement at New Harmony, he was joined by about nine hundred individuals, chiefly agriculturists and artisans. Applications for admission were more numerous than could be received. The mechanics, who constituted about half the number of the settlers, were chiefly English, the other half principally backwoodsmen. The roving unsettled habits of these last made them soon grow impatient of social restraint, and most of them in a short time quitted the society. Difficulties seem to have attended the undertaking from its commencement; the first influx of members was much larger than had been calculated for, or than could be well accommodated. The assemblage of persons was of a most heterogeneous description; if some understood the principles which it was the object to exemplify, most of them were moved by the hope of gain, or of living upon the common stock in idleness. With no previous education, or training, it was not to be expected that such an ill-assorted collection of individuals could give to the world an example of a perfect community. Whilst the first impulse lasted, however, and their leader kept the helm, affairs were sufficiently prosperous to encourage hopes of ultimate success. The government of the Society was vested in a Committee, appointed in the first instance by Mr. Owen, and afterwards, at his desire, by the members, assisted by a superintendant of each department of trade, or business, chosen by the workmen themselves. When, at the end of three months, Mr. Owen departed for England, con-

fusion and discord began to arise; religious dissensions prevailed, and after a time a separate community formed itself of the more orthodox. In the succeeding January, another large portion of the body, impatient of the preliminary state, resolved itself into "an independent community," and this again divided itself into three smaller societies, the educational, the agricultural, and the manufacturing societies. A large school was established on the Pestalozzian system by M. Piquéal, and Madame Frétegeot; the children were instructed in industrial occupations, and were to contribute by a few hours of labour each day to the expenses of the Institution, but it appears that this branch of education encroached upon that of the moral and intellectual faculties. Mr. Maclure, a man of considerable property, and an enthusiast in the cause of education, enabled the education society to purchase of Mr. Owen a large proportion of the land and buildings adjacent to the town. Two other communities were set on foot in the neighbourhood, the one chiefly consisting of English settlers, the other before mentioned, of backwoodsmen strongly tinctured with what is called "Methodism." Upon Mr. Owen's return he laboured indefatigably to establish order and unanimity, but within less than two years he was compelled to relinquish his connexion with the colony, which now consisted of at least ten smaller communities, with separate laws and regulations. Part of the land he sold to these societies, some of it he let on lease, and he finally withdrew, with much pecuniary loss, but with undiminished confidence in his principles and ardour in the cause. It is said that the result of this experiment convinced him, however, that a few members well prepared and trained were more likely to succeed, even with small capital, in establishing a community, than a large number of ill-disciplined individuals with a still larger proportion of capital. Several other societies upon his plan had been formed during this period in America, but they probably failed from corresponding mistakes.

Orbiston. This was also the case at home. About the same time

that the establishment at New Harmony was commenced, Mr. Abram Combe, Mr. Hamilton, and some other admirers of Mr. Owen, founded one with similar views at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire. Mr. Combe had visited New Lanark in 1820, and had become in consequence an enthusiastic advocate of the system which was there exhibited, partially at least, in operation. He made one or two attempts in Edinburgh to institute a society upon the same plan on a small scale, and published several treatises on the subject; but his most strenuous efforts, the larger portion of his property, and eventually his life, were spent upon the undertaking at Orbiston. The labour and anxiety which he underwent sapped his strength, and prepared the way for the disease which terminated his life in August, 1827. He died before the result of his enterprise became evident, and with enthusiastic confidence in its successful result.

The Company formed under the auspices of Mr. Abram Combe and Mr. A. Hamilton, of Dalzell, was a Joint-stock Company of Proprietors, instituted with the double object "of obtaining a sure and profitable investment for capital, and of enabling those who provide all the necessaries and comforts of life for the rest of society, to better the condition of themselves and their children." The Company of Proprietors was to be totally distinct from the Company of the Tenants, and the one was to have no more concern with the other than any other proprietor with his tenants, or than a capitalist with the borrower. The capital of the Company was to be expended on Land, Buildings, Machinery, Utensils, Implements, and Furniture; the use of these to be let to the tenants, at a rent of so much per cent. on the whole outlay. Each subscriber to have the privilege of admitting one tenant for every share. The tenants to have a right to conduct their affairs in their own way, whilst they fulfilled their contract. "The idea of philanthropy," observes Mr. Combe in this Prospectus, "is not introduced, because it is believed that nothing will ever become extensive but that which yields a good return for capital expended."

In the Prospectus of the Tenants' Company, the proposed advantages of their union are, the doing away with the necessity of *distributors*, the enabling of the producers to sell their labour for its true proportional value, and the having their children fed, clothed, and educated in the best manner and at the least expense.

In the Articles of Agreement drawn up for the Tenants, they agree "to rest satisfied with the distinctions which exist in nature, and which arise from superior habits and attainments; to renounce as useless and pernicious all supposed advantages which could not be attained by all; and to admit of no arrangement which tends to place the interest of one individual in opposition to that of another. To decide all disputes by the dictates of experience as far as possible. To constitute a Committee of Management consisting of all the members, male and female, and to choose one individual, annually or otherwise, and dismissible at pleasure, in whom the executive power should be vested. To introduce no artificial rewards or punishments, until it shall be proved that those which God has appointed in the Natural Law are really defective. That the store shall include arrangements for cleaning the clothes, furniture, and dwellings of individuals; for cooking their food and serving them at table, and for the charge of the necessary horses and carriages. That each member shall have liberty to labour as little as he pleases, provided that his demands on the store do not exceed the value which he has previously conveyed to it. That each individual should prepare an estimate of the hourly value of his own labour, and this, when satisfactory, be the amount of his claims on the general store. That the affairs of the community shall be conducted by Committees in the several departments. That from the commencement the general profits be divided equally among the members, and that the children be clothed, fed, and educated, at the expense of the community until they attain their eighteenth year. That in no case shall more than one private apartment be allotted to one individual, nor more than two have the use of the same. That cleanliness, temperance, and the

means of living, be the only further indispensable qualifications for admission, and the right of withdrawing be in the power of all. And lastly, to endeavour to give to the spirit of religion, of loyalty, and ambition existing in the human mind, the direction which experience proves to be most conducive to the general welfare and happiness of mankind.”\*

From these articles it appears that this society was not based upon the full principle of community of property to which Mr. Owen adheres, and that it resembled more nearly the Preliminary Society of New Harmony in its provisions. In pursuance of the proposed plan the company purchased the estate of Orbiston, “containing 291 statute acres, and lying nine miles east of Glasgow, and almost contiguous to the south road from that city to Edinburgh, for a price of £20,000: they erected extensive buildings, capable of accommodating upwards of 300 individuals, with public rooms, store-rooms, and other conveniences for common occupation; and also a manufactory on the Calder river, which bounds the property on the south east.”†

Like the sister society in America, however, that of Orbiston failed, and from similar causes, aggravated by deficiency of capital, since the sums subscribed were absorbed in the erection of the large and substantial buildings. It was observed of Mr. Abram Combe, that “influenced by a disposition to compassionate, rather than to blame, those who, in mind, as well as in circumstances were little to be envied, he admitted with a fatal want of due selection, persons into the Orbiston establishment who were totally incompetent to do anything in this world save talk: he believed his principle to be so powerful, that *out of any materials* he could construct a beautiful edifice—a lasting monument of co-operative superiority; but in this he was mistaken.”‡

The consequences of this mistake are recorded by his brother,

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\* Sphere of Joint-Stock Companies, by Abram Combe. † Memoir of Mr. Combe, Co-op. Mag. Dec. 1827. ‡ Gray's Social System, p. 353.



Mr. George Combe. "The establishment at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, set on foot ten years ago, by the admirers of that gentleman, (Mr. Owen,) fell closely under my personal observation; and there, the same disregard of the principles of human nature, and the results of experience, was exhibited. About three hundred persons, very improperly educated, and united by no great moral and religious principle, excepting the vague idea of co-operation, were congregated in a large building; they were furnished with the use of 270 acres of arable land, and commenced the co-operative mode of life. But their labour being guided by no efficient direction or superintendence, and there being no habitual supremacy of the moral and intellectual powers among them, animating each with a love of the public good, but the reverse,—the result was melancholy and speedy. Without in the least benefiting the operatives, the scheme ruined its philanthropic projectors, most of whom are now in premature graves, or emigrants to distant lands, while every stone which they raised has been razed to the foundation."\*

From the time when Mr. Owen began to reap the first fruits of his labours at New Lanark, he occasionally stood forth as the public advocate of the principles upon which he had worked. He first attracted general attention by an Address delivered at Glasgow, at a dinner given to Joseph Lancaster, in 1812, in which he adverted to the wonderful power of machinery, and the immense amount of human labour which it superseded. Soon after this he published his "Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System; with hints for the Improvement of those parts of it which are most injurious to Health and Morals." To the third edition, in 1818, were added a Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, on "the Employment of Children in Manufactories;" one to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on "the union of Churches and Schools;" and an "Address to the British Master Manufac-

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\* Combe's Moral Philosophy. Lady Douglas, who purchased the property, levelled the buildings to prevent the establishment of any public works near her own estate.

turers." The most important and widely circulated of Mr. Owen's writings are his "Essays on the Formation of the Human Character," first published in 1813.

In the autumn of 1817 there were several meetings at the City of London Tavern, at which Mr. Owen delivered eloquent addresses, and excited a strong sensation among the crowds who flocked to hear him. When, however, his profession of religious faith was found wanting in the opinion of one large class of his admirers, they deserted him, and refused to listen to any propositions connected with his name. During an excursion to France, Germany, and the Netherlands, in 1818, he visited Fellenberg's educational establishment at Hofwyl, in Switzerland. Whilst on this tour, the Memorials to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle were presented, quoted in the foregoing work. The year 1819 found Mr. Owen an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in Parliament; but the same year also found two members of the Royal House lending an ear to his suggestions. The Duke of Kent, supported by the Duke of Sussex, presided at a meeting convened at Freemasons' Hall, in furtherance of his views. A Committee was appointed under the presidency of the Duke of Kent, to examine into the proposed plans, and a resolution was ultimately adopted to raise a subscription for the purpose of founding a single establishment as an experiment. Several thousand pounds were subscribed, and 500 acres of land purchased at Motherwell, near Hamilton; but as an adequate sum could not be obtained, the design was abandoned, and the land resold. In furtherance of the object, however, meetings of the principal gentry of the county had taken place in 1821, and Committees of investigation were appointed. It was on this occasion that Mr. Owen published his "Report to the County of Lanark," in which he proposed his plan of a Labour Exchange Note, in lieu of the old circulating medium.

Mr. Owen visited Ireland in 1823, held several public meetings, and was listened to, as everywhere else, with eager attention.\*

\* "Hampden," vol. 2.

His appeals made in the first instance to the higher classes, were responded to with enthusiasm by many of the intelligent and illustrious among them ; but the impression was, generally speaking, evanescent, or not sufficiently deep to ensure their active co-operation. Neither from the middle, or already "comfortable" classes, was there much chance of obtaining it. But with the ranks just below these, sufficiently educated to understand his reasonings—sufficiently harassed in the struggle for subsistence to hail his offered prospects, the case was very different. Numbers of these attached themselves to the cause, which spread like a message of

Co-operative      good tidings through the land. Co-operative Societies  
Societies.      sprang up on all sides ; Brighton was the head-quarters of one, and also of a periodical, called the Brighton Co-operative, under the editorship of Dr. King. About the end of the year 1824, the London Co-operative Society was formed, for aiding in the establishment of communities, and for diffusing information upon the subject by lectures, public discussions, and publications ; and this was followed by others in Dublin, Exeter, and many other places. Co-operative Magazines, Miscellanies, and Tracts were widely circulated, and Co-operative Trading Societies were established in great numbers. From a list of these published in the British Co-operator, it appears that there were, in 1830, forty-two of these Societies in London. Their object, as detailed in the Laws of the Birmingham Society, was to raise a common capital by weekly subscriptions ; to employ that capital in trade, and when sufficiently accumulated, in manufacturing for the benefit of the Society ; and lastly, upon further accumulation, in the purchase or rental of land for the establishment of a community. The trading to be carried on with the fund raised by subscriptions or loans, by laying in goods at wholesale prices, and retailing them at the usual profits ; the profits to be added to the capital of the company, and not in any case to be divided among the members. No credit to be given or taken in the sales or purchases of the Society. The members were expected to purchase from the Society's store what they might require of its

articles. But here again the difficulty occurred of finding fitting agents to carry out wise and sound principles. The apparent impossibility of securing able and *honest* managers of the joint concerns was fatal to their success in most instances.

A movement had, however, taken place throughout the country, and a tendency is apparent in the writings of philanthropists, of different parties, to the conclusion that some change has become necessary, although the weighty consequences of the admission seem to deter them generally from meeting the question full in the face. An able writer admits, in a review of Godwin's "Thoughts on Man," published in 1831, that "the present constitution of society sanctions startling iniquities, and that communities are far indeed from being, in their best regulated departments, what they might be, what they ought to be, what they shall be,"—and looks forward to a time when by the more equal distribution of labour, "individual capacities will be more easily distinguishable, and as a consequence of this, the rewards of labour more appropriate and sure."

The writer of an admirable article on Co-operation in the Monthly Repository for August, 1832, remarks, "When we read such a statement of the condition of the working classes as that presented by Dr. Kay, of Manchester,—when we see, amidst all the whirl, and bustle, and fever of excitement, which the commercial world exhibits, the difficulties which persons in the happy middle ranks find in directing their sons to any pursuit which is not pre-occupied to excess ;—when we consider the reduced profits of the masters, bolstered up as far as possible by the sadly reduced wages of the workers, and by the pernicious alchemy which coins the blood and spirits of hapless and joyless *infancy* into the odd halfpence and farthings ;—when we perceive, through the whole band and chorus of society, a grand, resistless, and prevalent thorough bass of present discontent, and painful anticipation, we incline to the imagination that there is something in our existing predicament which ought to be changed. \* \* \* Let us ask, *what is*

the present state of society, about which such heavy complaints are made, and whose defects call on thousands to co-operate for their removal? The answer shall be taken from the Edinburgh Review, (Dec. 1831, p. 367.)

“ ‘How much among us may be likened to a whited sepulchre; outwardly all pomp and strength, but inwardly full of horror and despair, and dead men’s bones! Iron highways, with their wains fire-winged, are uniting all ends of the firm land. Quays besides, with their innumerable stately fleets, tame the ocean into a pliant bearer of burdens. Labour’s thousand arms of sinew and of metal, all-conquering everywhere, from the tops of the mountain to the depths of the mine and the caverns of the sea, ply unceasingly for the service of man,—YET MAN REMAINS UNSERVED. \* \* \* He has subdued this planet, his habitation and inheritance, yet reaps no profit from the victory. Sad to look upon, in the highest stage of civilization, *nine-tenths of mankind must struggle in the lowest battle of savage, or even animal man,—the battle against famine.* Countries are rich, prosperous in all manner of increase beyond example, but the men of these countries are needier than ever. The rule, *sic vos non vobis*, never altogether to be got rid of in man’s industry, now presses with such incubus-weight, that *industry must shake it off*, or be utterly strangled under it; and, alas! can as yet but gasp and rave, and aimlessly struggle, like one in the final delirium. Thus *change, or the irresistible approach of change, is manifest everywhere.*’ ” “ Dr. King, of Brighton, author of the ‘Co-operator,’ has boldly preached the desired change. He heads one of his chapters thus:—‘Co-operation is the unknown object which the benevolent part of mankind have always been in search of, for the improvement of their fellow-creatures.’ ”

Several of the co-operative societies above-mentioned projected the formation of a community—one in the neighbourhood of London in particular; another was actually commenced at Exeter; but both schemes proved abortive. In Ireland, however, an interesting expe-

riment was made, and with better success, by Mr. Vandaleur on his estate of Ralahine in the county of Clare. His tenantry were of the lowest order of Irish, poor, discontented, disorderly, vicious. Anxious to amend their character and condition, and also desirous for his own sake of obtaining steady and useful labourers, he determined in 1830 upon trying Mr. Owen's principle, with modifications adapted to the circumstances. About forty labourers willingly entered into his plan, and he formed them into a society under his own government and superintendence. To this society he let the estate of Ralahine, containing 618 English acres, about 267 acres of which was pasture land, 285 tilled, 63½ bog, and 2½ acres of orchard; the soil was generally good, some stoney. This land, together with six cottages and an old castle which were converted into dwellings for the married people;—all the farm buildings, barns, cowhouses, stables, sheds, &c., part of which he had converted into a public dining-room, and committee and schoolrooms with dormitories above them, for the children, and unmarried males and females,—he let to them for £700 a-year, tithe and tax free. There were also included a saw-mill and threshing-mill, turned by a water-wheel, and the shells of a factory and of a weaving-shop, but no machinery in them. For the tools, implements of husbandry, live stock, and advances made to them for food and clothing till the harvest was got in, they were to pay (which was reckoning about 6 per cent. interest) £200 more. They were to live together upon the estate in the buildings provided, in common, and they were to work upon the common capital for their joint interest. After paying the above rent and charges, the remainder of the produce was to be the property of the adult members of seventeen years old and upwards, share and share alike, male or female, single or married. The tools, implements, and machinery, were to be kept in as good repair as received, and when worn out replaced, and the cattle and other live stock were to be kept up both in number and value. The rent was to be paid in the pro-

duce of the estate always; the first year it was to be a money rent,—£900 worth of produce at the prices at the time in Limerick market; in future years it was to be a corn rent, consisting of as many bushels of grain, and hundred weights of beef, pork, butter, &c. as were paid in the first year; and whatever improvements the society might make on the estate, no advance in rent was ever to take place, and as soon as they had acquired sufficient capital to purchase the stock, a long lease of the property was promised at the same rent.

Mr. Vandaleur kept possession of the stock, crops, and premises, until the society should be able to purchase them; the rent and interest being more than he had ever been able to realize from the land himself. In 1831 the rent and interest were paid in money. In 1832 the value of the produce was nearly £1700; the advances made to the society for food, clothing, seed, &c., that year being about £550. The extra advances made for building cottages, furniture, &c., absorbed the surplus produce; but comfort was increasing, and a foundation laid for future prosperity and happiness.

The members of the society were to work as many hours, to do as much labour, and to draw no more from the common fund, than he would have paid them for wages as common labourers; and they were to continue to do so until they had a capital of their own. To effect these objects, a regular account was kept by the secretary, of the time and labour of every individual each day, and at the end of the week, the same sum was paid to each for his or her labour as Mr. Vandaleur formerly paid for wages. The prospect of a share of the surplus profit of the crops afforded a strong motive to industry, and these people did twice as much work in a day as any hired labourers in the neighbourhood. The money advanced from the fund was in *labour notes*, payable only at their own store. This enabled the proprietor to support them without actual advances in cash, and tended to prevent intemperance, as no intoxicating drinks were kept at the store, and their money would not

pass at the dram-shops. The store was furnished with goods of the best quality, charged to the people at wholesale prices. According to Irish custom, potatoes and milk constituted the chief articles of food, and the allowance which was received from the subsistence fund was proportionably low; but the advantages which the members of the society received from their union, raised their condition far above the common standard of their class. Agricultural labourers received 4s. per week; their expenditure was, for vegetables, chiefly potatoes, 1s.; milk, 10 quarts, 10d.; washing, &c., 2d.; sick fund, 2d.; clothing, 1s. 10d. The women received 2s. 6d. per week; their expenses were, for vegetables 6d.; milk, 8d.; washing, &c., 2d.; sick fund, 1½d.; clothing, 1s. 0½d. Married members, living in cottages by themselves, paid 6d. per week rent to the society, and perhaps 2d. more for fuel. All the children from fourteen months old upwards, were supported from the fund without care or expense to their parents. They were provided for in the infant school until they were eight or nine years old, and afterwards in the public dining-room with the unmarried members. The adults had nothing to pay out of their wages for rent, fire, lectures, school, or amusements. They purchased every article on an average 50 per cent. cheaper, and they had better articles in their own store than they could buy elsewhere. Every member was insured full work, and the same amount from the fund every day in the year, and the price of food was always the same at their store. The sick or incapacitated received out of the sick fund as much as when at work. If a father died, his family were provided for.

The society gradually increased to double the original number. Their dwellings and furniture were clean and neat, their cooking was done well and economically, and they availed themselves as much as possible of machinery in every department. The youth of both sexes, under the age of seventeen, fulfilled the usual offices of servants by turns. The hours of labour were from six in the morning until six in the evening in summer, with one hour of inter-



mission for dinner. The Committee met every evening to arrange the labours of the following day in such a manner as should best suit individual tastes and capacities. The youth were engaged to learn some one useful trade besides agricultural labour; and each individual was bound to assist in field labour, particularly in harvest-time. The storekeeper distributed the food, clothing, &c.; the gardener the produce of the garden. Mr. Vandaleur sold the surplus produce, and purchased articles for the farm and for the store. All disputes were settled by arbitration amongst themselves, and no instance occurred during the three years they were together of an appeal to a lawyer or a magistrate. Mr. Craig, the zealous and able assistant of Mr. Vandaleur, relates the admiration of the visitors to Ralahine, at a system "which could tame the wild Irish, and make them forsake poverty, rags, and misery, for cleanliness, health, and comfort."

It is painful to record the abrupt breaking up of this Society at a time when it was progressing rapidly, and the melancholy cause of such a termination. Mr. Vandaleur was allied to the aristocracy, and, with all his excellencies, he shared one of their vices. A habit of gambling reduced himself, his family, and his system, to ruin. He fled from his country, and his creditors, seizing upon his property, without staying to inquire into the justice of the claims of the labourers at Ralahine, disposed of all they found there to satisfy their own. The society was not enrolled, nor had Mr. Vandaleur given them a lease of the premises, therefore the law afforded them no protection or redress.\*

Poor Colonies  
of Holland.

Another instance in which Mr. Owen's suggestions have been followed out, is that of the "Poor Colonies" of Holland. He proposed a plan to the British Government for the employment of the pauper population, which was not adopted. It was subsequently transmitted to that of Holland, through the Dutch Ambassador, in 1816. The plan was accepted

\* See Ralahine, by John Finch.

and acted upon; it met with a valuable coadjutor in General Van den Bosch, with whose previously formed scheme for benefiting his country it entirely accorded. Whilst residing in Java this officer had witnessed the superior agricultural methods of a Chinese colony settled near to his own farm. Upon his return to Holland he published the knowledge of their processes which he had thus acquired, and proposed that the poor of his own country should be employed in fertilizing and cultivating the worst soils, on the Chinese system.

A meeting was held at the Hague in 1818, and a Society of Beneficence organized under the sanction of the King. Two Committees were appointed for its superintendence and management. The subscription was scarcely 5s. per annum, but as 20,000 members were speedily enrolled, a large sum was collected, and the society shortly purchased a tract of sandy heath and bogland near the town of Steenwyk, on the east side of the Zuyder Zee, consisting of from 12 to 1300 acres. The society paid £4660 for it, and the money was raised by loan at 6 per cent., the association engaging to liquidate the principal, by instalment, in sixteen years. A school-house, warehouse, spinning-house, and fifty-two cottages were built, and the little river Aa was rendered navigable. The place was called *Frederick's Oord* in compliment to the King's second son, President of the Society. The works were finished in the November of the same year and occupied by fifty-two indigent families. The association found them in food and clothing until the first harvest, and employed them in reclaiming and preparing the land for the first crop: for this labour the colonists were paid by piece-work, as other labourers would have been. Seven acres of land were allotted to each of the cottages, and it was calculated that each family of seven or eight persons would require an outlay from the society of £141. 13s. But most of the houses since built have cost less than this estimate. The labour of building was performed by the colonists at a fixed rate of wages, the clay for bricks being found upon the land.

The total expense of each family was as follows:—

Building each house ... ..	£41	13	4
Furniture and implements ... ..	8	6	8
Clothing ... ..	12	10	0
Two cows, or one cow and ten sheep ... ..	12	10	0
Cultivation and seed, first year ... ..	33	6	8
Advances in provisions ... ..	4	3	4
Advances of other kinds ... ..	4	3	4
Flax and wool to be spun ... ..	16	13	4
Seven acres uncultivated land, net ... ..	8	6	8
Total establishment ... ..	£141	13	4

“ The estimate is between £22 and £23 for each individual, and they are expected to repay it to the society in rent and labour, besides maintaining themselves, in about sixteen years. Each allotment of seven acres is laid out in a rectangle, having the house toward the road with one end, and the other reaching fifty feet into the allotment. The dwelling occupies the part next the road, then comes the barn, after that the stalls for cattle, and behind these the reservoir for manure, in which every particle of vegetable and animal refuse is carefully made up into compost, with the heath and moss of the land. The preparation of this compost is one of the most essential of their labours, and each cottager is bound to lay eighteen tons of manure per annum upon each acre of his land, as also to cultivate it properly, otherwise the society would have it done for him and charge it to his account. Each head of a family is obliged to work three days in a week for the society, until out of its debt, for which he is paid by piece work. The colonists are subjected to a kind of military regulation; they assemble at six in the morning, and those who do not answer to the roll-call get no wages for the day. When the labour of the day is over, each receives a ticket, stating the amount of wages, and for that he may procure food from the store at fixed rates. Those who are at first unable to support themselves, obtain credit for a short

period. The women spin, weave, knit, as soon as possible from the produce of their own flocks and fields. On the first arrival of a family the men and boys are taught the colonial method of spade agriculture; the women and girls the lighter labour of the garden and dairy; and before a family can obtain possession of a cottage, it is a rule that the women of it shall be instructed in cookery and household work, if before ignorant how to manage it in a cleanly and economical manner. Each family is furnished with a printed paper, in which is clearly stated the duties to be performed, the sums to be repaid to the society for the farm and the stock, and the regulations which must be observed till the repayment is completed, as also the annual rental to them afterwards. An account-book is also given to them with an account of the stock, tools, &c. supplied to them, and in which is set down once a week the sums they have earned and paid off—a certain portion being deducted uniformly from their earnings towards the payment. It is left to their own option to pay more, or to lay out the surplus in articles to be procured from the directors of the colony. A superintendant is placed over every twenty-five families, and a sub-director over every four of these quarter-masters, as they are called.

“The produce of a certain amount of work every week is allowed for the support of the sick or infirm. The whole of the appointments are inspected with military care, and such as have been wasteful, are obliged to make good what they have destroyed. The careful preparation of manure, the most remarkable feature in Chinese husbandry, is the grand resource, and its results are encouraging, since rich crops have been raised from soil which was before scarcely able to support the lowest species of vegetation. The system now pursued is to lay down one-half of the seven acres in grass, to sow one acre with rye, and one with potatoes; the remaining acre and a half being devoted to flax, mangel wurzel, clover, cabbages, &c., one quarter of an acre round the house being reserved for kitchen garden and fruit-trees.”

In two years after their first arrival, the fifty-two families were found to have discharged one-fifth part of the debt originally contracted, and, notwithstanding this outgoing, their condition appeared comfortable. The total number of cottages at Frederick's Oord, in 1833, was 370, each with its seven acres of land in complete cultivation. There were also at this time a large school, to which parents were required to send all their children from four to twelve years of age, a spinning and weaving-house, four store-houses, a good inn, a house for the resident director, and a navigable canal, which had just been completed. Another colony had been added in the neighbourhood called Wellem's Oord, consisting of 159 cottages. The society also possessed an establishment at Watereen for instructing 60 boys in the theory and practice of agriculture, from which to supply the settlements with efficient agricultural directors. In another and larger establishment, 1200 orphan children were boarded and educated, in a great measure earning their subsistence by agriculture and the connected trades. Nine farms, of 100 acres each, were located in the neighbourhood, and the elder boys and girls were sent thither, in the day-time, to assist in the work of the farm and dairy, for which services they were compensated by the instruction received from the farmers.

Besides these Free Colonies, the Society had an establishment of Paupers, founded in 1822, the Government contracting to pay a certain sum for their maintenance. One containing a thousand persons was situated in the vicinity of that for the orphans, and another at Ommerschans. In these institutions the settlers were subjected to more rigid discipline, the rule that "he who will not work shall not eat," being carried into practical effect. In 1826 the number of beggars settled at the last-mentioned place amounted to 1300. They were divided into classes according to age and strength; a certain sum was fixed which the members of each class were obliged to earn in a day, and for which one plentiful meal was received; all beyond this he must pay for by extra labour,

and if industrious he could with ease earn two or three times the amount. Whenever a colonist had saved forty shillings, and had conducted himself properly, he was at liberty to leave the colony.

A writer who visited these Home Colonies in 1833, with the express purpose of ascertaining their condition, speaks highly of the apparent comfort and happiness of the colonists; but it must be allowed that to assemble a large body of paupers of the lowest description, and place them in an isolated community, is a hazardous experiment. Mr. Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," informs us that the Belgian Colonies, founded in 1823 upon the model of those in Holland, have proved a decided failure.\*

A colony for the reformation of juvenile offenders was founded sometime ago at Mettray, near Tours, in France, upon the estate of the Viscount de Breteignières, who shared its direction with M. Demetz, the projector. The principles upon which it was established were strictly analogous to those of the Dutch orphan schools above described. The first step taken was to institute a school of monitors of unstained character, and chosen from respectable families, as in the first instance when example would be all-important, this was considered essential. Afterwards it was intended to elevate the most exemplary among the reformed criminals to this post, and thus to give them the means of reinstating themselves in society. The youths to be employed in agriculture and the trades subservient to it. The sum which the Government agreed to give with each offender was 60 centimes (6d.) per day, which it was reckoned, with the profits of their labour, would cover the expenses. It was proposed to commence with about sixty.†

A subsequent account of the progress of this institution was published in the 'Phalange' of June 9, 1841, from which it appears that it is in an encouraging state. M. Le Comte de Gasparin is

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\* Quarterly Review, 1829. New Moral World, July 3, 1841. "An Account of a visit to the Dutch Home Colonies in the Autumn of 1833." Porter's "Progress of the Nation," vol. 1, p. 109.

† "Colony of Mettray," Chambers' Journal.

its President, and it has been endowed by the Count d'Ourches with the sum of 140,000*f*. It is now suited for the reception of about 300 youths. An excellent discipline has been established, and considerable improvement has taken place in the morals and also in the health of the young inmates.\*

Labour      Mr. Owen was busily engaged in the years 1832-3  
Exchange.      on a scheme which he intended as an immediate measure of relief to the working classes, and as a step towards the adoption of his system of society. This was the establishment of Labour Exchange Bazaars, designed to enable the producers to exchange their articles immediately with each other, together with the substitution of *labour notes* for the current money; the object of the first being the saving of the heavy percentage of the shopkeepers;—by the second it was proposed to make the medium of exchange the representative of the *real* value of the article; the producer would also by this plan have the advantage of obtaining an immediate representative of the worth of his goods. For instance, the shoemaker brought his pair of shoes to the Bazaar, with an invoice of the cost of the material and the time employed in manufacturing them. A person, supposed to be competent and disinterested, was appointed to sanction or correct the valuation. A *labour note* of so many hours was then given to the shoemaker, which he was at liberty to exchange immediately, or at any future time, for any other deposit in the Bazaar—say a hat, a tea kettle, or a joint of meat. Upon each transaction a commission of 8½ per cent. was charged, payable in *cash*, to defray the expenses of the Institution. These were found to be very heavy, and although the plan seemed attractive, and large deposits and exchanges were made for a season, these expenses, the great difficulties of the management, and the losses attending the removal of the Bazaar from Gray's Inn Road to Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, soon put the *labour notes* to a discount. Notwith-

\* See New Moral World, July 31, 1841.

standing the high expectations of success entertained by the promoters of the plan, and the support which it received from numbers of working people, to a degree which had occasioned the establishment of several branch institutions, it proved entirely delusive,—as all attempts to engraft a new system upon the old must be, without any corresponding change of principles and habits of action.

“Essays on the Formation of Character.” The “Essays on the Formation of Character,” contain Mr. Owen’s leading tenets, and are written with the vigour of a mind fresh from the practice of its principles. The general object of these Essays is to prepare the public mind for the introduction of a system, afterwards to be developed, founded upon common labour and common property. Mr. Owen sets out in them, with stating, that there are twelve millions of the poor and working classes in Great Britain and Ireland; that one portion of these are trained to commit crime, for the commission of which they are afterwards punished; the other is instructed to *believe*, or acknowledge, that certain principles are *unerringly true*, and to *act* as if they were *grossly false*; thus making society a scene of insincerity and counteraction. To remedy this state of things, the principle which by universal experience is proved to be true, must be admitted in practice as well as in theory; namely, that “any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.” The adoption of this principle will eventually banish all the complicated and counteracting motives for good conduct which have been multiplied almost to infinity, and cause to be recognised the one single principle of action, “the happiness of self, clearly understood and uniformly practised; which can only be attained by conduct that must promote the happiness of the community.” These principles only require to be known to



establish themselves, and the outline of future proceedings becomes clear and defined. All facts prove that children can be trained to acquire "any language, sentiments, belief, or any bodily habits and manners, not contrary to human nature." Plans must therefore be devised by the governing powers of all countries, to train children from their earliest infancy in good habits of every description, (which will of course prevent them from acquiring those of falsehood and deception); they must afterwards be rationally educated, and their labour usefully directed. That health of body and peace of mind may be preserved sound and entire, it is necessary that the irresistible propensities that form part of the nature of man should be so directed as to *increase*, not *counteract* his happiness.

Withdraw those circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created; replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry, and these qualities will be formed; the worst formed disposition, short of incurable insanity, will not long resist a firm, determined, well-directed, persevering kindness. "On the experience of a life devoted to the subject," Mr. Owen hesitates not to say, "that the members of any community may by degrees be trained to live, without idleness, without poverty, without crime, and without punishment; for each of these is the effect of error in the various systems prevalent throughout the world. They are all the necessary consequences of ignorance. Train any population rationally, and they will be rational. Furnish honest and useful employments to those so trained, and such employments they will greatly prefer to dishonest or injurious occupations. It is beyond all calculation the interest of every Government to provide that training and that employment; and to provide both is easily practicable. The first is to be obtained by a national system for the formation of character; the second by Governments preparing a reserve of employment for the surplus working classes, when the general demand for labour throughout the country is not equal to

the full occupation of the whole: that employment to be on useful national objects, from which the public may derive advantage equal to the expense which these works may require. The national plan for the formation of character should *include* all the modern improvements in education, without regard to the system of any one individual; and should not *exclude* the child of any subject in the empire."

It is of little avail to give "precept upon precept and line upon line," unless the means shall also be prepared to train them in good practical habits. It is the duty therefore of the Government of every country to adopt, without delay, the proper means to form those sentiments and habits in the people which shall give the most permanent and substantial advantages to individuals and to the community. In the fourth and last Essay, several intermediate measures of amelioration are proposed to the British Government. These are chiefly the revision of the poor laws, the abolition of state lotteries, a uniform national system of education and of rational training, and the reform, not abolition, of the national church. The two former have been adopted, the two latter have not yet been tried.

Mr. Owen's Doctrine. The fundamental tenet of Mr. Owen's system, that "the character of an individual is formed *for* him and not *by* him," is a direct, and in no respect new inference, from the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, so far as the proposition can be said to be correct; the mode of stating it is open to objection. The mental and bodily constitution of an individual constitute *himself*, and these determine his character to a certain extent. It is true "himself" is but a link in the chain of causation, and therefore the effect of foregoing causes, but it is the immediate antecedent, or cause, of "his character," therefore "himself" causes his character—his character is caused *by himself*. The proposition, as intended for popular use, is liable to misconception, since the intellectual and physical constitution influence the character largely, not only directly, but indirectly; for according to this constitution, given external circumstances affect, or not,

the character. There is the more reason for this objection to the terms of his statement, in that Mr. Owen himself appears to overrate the force of external circumstances; for though he admits that the differing inherent inclinations and faculties lead to the "lesser varieties" among men, he makes so little account of them that he affirms, "that the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class."

Mr. Owen also seems to suppose that while man is the unresisting creature of the circumstances which affect himself, he has in return an absolute control over those which affect others. In the words of an eloquent opponent, "he can create a character for every individual of the human race but himself."\*

In the "Outline of the Rational System of Society," a sort of text-book of his opinions published more lately, Mr. Owen makes ample provision in words for the influence of original organization, but the objection above made still applies to the spirit of many of his positions. The "Outline" bases the rational system of society upon "*Five Fundamental Facts*," the general correctness of which it would be difficult to impugn, notwithstanding the metaphysical confusion of the second and third:—

"1st, That man is a *compound being*, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it, from birth to death; such original organization and external influences continually acting and reacting each upon the other.

"2nd, That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his *feelings* and *convictions* independently of his *will*.

"3rd, That his feelings, or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

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\* Upon the proposition that "man's character is formed for him, not by him," all Mr. Owen's followers, without exception, take their stand; by a resolution of the proprietors at Orbiston, the tenants were obliged to sign their assent to it before admission into the society.

"4th, That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth ; nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be precisely similar.

"5th, That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a *very inferior*, or a *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth."

The "*Fundamental Laws of Human Nature, or First Principles of the Science of Man*," are then given in accordance with those developed in the present work. The "*Conditions of Human Happiness*," which will be secured to all under the rational system, are thus enumerated :—

"The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

"The power of procuring at pleasure, whatever is necessary to preserve the organization in the best state of health.

"The best education, from infancy to maturity, of the physical, intellectual, and moral power of all the population.

"The inclination and means of promoting continually the happiness of our fellow-beings.

"The inclination and means of increasing continually our stock of knowledge.

"The power of enjoying the best society ; and more particularly of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we feel the most regard and the greatest affection.

"The means of travelling at pleasure.

"The absence of superstition, supernatural fears, and the fear of death.

"Full liberty of expressing our thoughts upon all subjects.

"The utmost individual freedom of action, compatible with the permanent good of society.

"To have the character formed for us to express the truth only upon all occasions,—and to have pure charity for the feelings,

thoughts, and conduct of all mankind,—and a sincere good-will for every individual of the human race.

“To reside in a society whose laws, institutions, and arrangements, well organized and well governed, are all in unison with the laws of human nature.”

The “*Practice of the Rational Religion* will consist in the promotion to the utmost of our power of the well-being and happiness of every man, woman, and child, without regard to their class, sect, sex, party, country, or colour; and its *Worship* in those inexpressible feelings of wonder, admiration, and delight, which, when man is surrounded by superior circumstances only, will naturally arise from the contemplation of the Infinity of Space, of the Eternity of Duration, of the Order of the Universe, and of that Incomprehensible Power, by which the atom is moved, and the aggregate of Nature is governed.”

The “*Elements of the Science of Society*” are composed of—

“A knowledge of the laws of human nature, derived from demonstrable facts which prove man to be a social being.

“A practical knowledge of the best mode of producing in abundance the most beneficial necessities and comforts for the support and enjoyment of human life.

“A practical knowledge of the best mode of distributing these productions most advantageously for all.

“A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to form the new combination of circumstances for training the infant to become, at maturity, the most rational being.

“A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to govern man in the best manner, as a member of the great family of mankind.

“A knowledge of the principles and practice for uniting in one general system, in their due proportions, these separate parts of the science of Society; to effect and secure, in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments, with the fewest disadvantages.”

"*A rational Government*" will devise and execute the arrangements by which the conditions essential to human happiness shall be fully and permanently obtained for all the governed ; and its laws will be few, easy to be understood by all the governed, and perfectly in unison with the laws of human nature." It will secure "*Full Liberty of Mind and Conscience*," it will "*Provide for and Educate the Population*,"—

"Every one shall be equally provided through life, with the best of everything for human nature, by public arrangements ; which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

"All shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

"All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment.

"All children, from their birth, shall be under the especial care of the community in which they are born ; but their parents shall have free access to them at all times.

"All children shall be trained and educated together, as children of the same family ; and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature.

"Every individual shall be encouraged to express his feelings and convictions only ; or, in other words, to speak the truth solely upon all occasions.

"Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty ; their marriages will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions."

After the children shall have been trained to acquire new habits and feelings derived from the laws of their nature, to know these laws, and to obey them, there shall be no *useless* private property, no individual punishment and reward. Society shall not be composed as at present of single families, but of associations of men, women, and children, in such numbers as local circumstances may determine. As these communities increase in number, unions of them shall be

formed for local and general purposes, in tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. Each shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, for ever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number ; and all the communities shall be so arranged as to give to all the members of each, as nearly as possible the same advantages, and to afford easy communication with each other.

Each community shall be governed in its home department by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty and forty ; in its foreign department by those between forty and sixty.

"All individuals trained, educated, and placed, in conformity to the laws of their nature, must of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased ; in which case the council shall remove them into the hospital for bodily, mental, or moral, invalids, where they shall remain until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure."\*

The general conclusion deduced from these facts and principles is, that "the period for remodelling the character of man, and for governing the population of the earth in unity, peace, progressive improvement and happiness, is near at hand ; and that no human power can resist the change."

The principal points of Political Economy which Mr. Owen deals with are those of distribution, the effects of the growing power of machinery, and the possibility of extracting an indefinitely increasing produce from the soil,—passing by the subject of exchange, and many others which occupy chiefly the attention of political economists. His reasonings in this direction coincide so perfectly with the line of argument taken in this work, that it is needless to recapitulate them. With relation to the Domestic Economy of Society, Mr. Owen's positions seem to be irrefutable ; his only error

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\* Mr. Owen's system admits of neither reward nor punishment ; but this "moral hospital" savours very much of the last ; there seems to be a distinction here without a difference.

being, apparently, the supposition that society is prepared to adopt them. He has recently re-issued his scheme of a community, with such modifications as he imagines will induce the middle and higher classes to give it their sanction. The publication emanates from a Society which has already raised a considerable amount of capital in furtherance of his object.

Mr. Owen's Plan. It is proposed to form Joint-Stock Companies of Proprietors, who, after having purchased the land and erected the buildings, shall let them to Companies of Tenants, as in the case of Orbiston. That each "Home Colony" shall be devised to accommodate ultimately from 2,000 to 2,500 individuals, but to be so arranged as to contain temporarily, and during the "transition state," a larger number. The dwelling-houses and public buildings to be erected in the form of a square inclosing an area of about sixty-five acres, as nearly as may be in the centre of an estate of 2 or 3000 acres. The whole edifice, with its Schools, Libraries, Laboratories, Museums, Places of Worship, Refectories, &c., and the space enclosed containing Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, Conservatories, Gymnasias, Baths, &c., to constitute a magnificent Palace, containing within itself the advantages of a Metropolis, an University, and a Country Residence, without any of their disadvantages, and situated within a beautiful Park of 2,000 or 3,000 acres; the whole scientifically arranged, and placing within the reach of its inhabitants at a moderate expenditure, advantages economical, moral, and political, never yet possessed by any classes of society. It is intended to combine provision for the *individuality* of our nature with the economical and social benefits of union, more particularly until this feeling, at present so strong, shall have become modified under a different system of education. It is therefore designed that these shall be "Transition Colonies" merely, consisting of four Classes:—1st, of Hired Labourers or Servants—say one-third of single women who can earn, on the average, £25 per ann.; two-thirds of men, who now earn £39 per ann. each. These persons will be lodged,



fed, clothed, instructed, and furnished with means of recreation, under circumstances that will gradually improve their language, habits, and general conduct; and thus prepare them to become candidates for membership. When they marry their places must be filled up by other single persons, unless their conduct shall have qualified them to aspire to membership; in which case, arrangements will be formed for them, and for educating their children, *outside* the square, but yet within the domain of the colony.

The 2d Class, or Candidates for Membership, to consist of mechanics, artisans, and the superior kind of servants who now earn about £65 per annum, and who, when educated and trained in principle and practice, will be admitted as full members or colonists, and in the meantime will enjoy many advantages unattainable elsewhere.

The 3rd Class will be the *Members* of the Colony, who will take the establishment from the proprietors, reserving the right to fine down the rents, and ultimately become the owners at a stipulated price; and who will direct the general affairs of the colony, enjoy its full privileges, and transmit them to their children.

The 4th Class, will consist of independent Families, or Individuals, who desire to enjoy all the benefits of a superior home, and society, at a reduced cost, and without trouble or anxiety; and who do not object to live under colonial rules and regulations, these having been framed to secure the happiness of all. They must be of good education, manners, and habits; they will be allowed more or fewer private apartments, according to their desire and means of expenditure; their meals may be private; they will have the free use of the public institutions, and of superior education for their children.

The employment of the members will partly depend upon the localities of the situation. In some Colonies agriculture would be principally attended to; in others agriculture and manufactures; in others agriculture and fishing; in others agriculture, fishing, and manufactures; in others agriculture and mining: but it is

proposed that agriculture should be the basis of all; and that this should be carried on to such an extent as to supply, in average seasons, the whole of the inhabitants with a full quantity of the best food; and likewise that the clothing required should be manufactured by themselves. Beyond the production of these necessities there will be a large surplus of labour to be employed for the benefit of society, and this will be directed to the extension of agriculture, manufactures, &c.—each person being well instructed in agriculture, and at least in some one other art, science, manufacture, or useful occupation. Great facilities will be afforded to agriculture by the power of calling out an extra number of hands, at those times and seasons when additional aid is required; and it will be a primary object to introduce all scientific improvements, which, rightly applied, are calculated to render manual labour only a healthy and agreeable exercise. If there should not be at first a sufficient number of persons in the colony fully competent to the management of the different branches of industry, the Governor and Committee will be empowered to engage the assistance of skilful practical men from general society. Every regard will be paid to the inclinations of individuals in regulating their employments. The estate would be divided into four farms, cultivated as far as possible with the spade; the agricultural buildings being near the centre of each. The manufactories, gas apparatus, washing, bleaching, and dyeing arrangements, stables, and coach-houses, &c., would be placed at some distance without the square, surrounded by plantations.

In a Transition Colony of 3708 persons the annual costs are calculated as follows:—

864	individuals	of the 1st class,	at £15 per ann.	£12,960
324	"	"	2nd " 25 " "	8,100
360	"	"	3rd " 40 " "	14,400
432	"	"	4th " 50 " "	21,600
1728	children,	lodged, boarded, and educated with every advantage	... .. £30 " "	51,840
3708				£108,900

Estimate of the cost of Land, Buildings, &c.	
2000 Acres of Land, average quality, including timber, at £70 per acre...	£140,000
72 Dwelling-houses, at £3500 each ...	252,000
4 Colleges ...	16,000
4 Central Buildings for Adults ...	32,000
4 Culinary and Refectory arrangements ...	24,000
Furnishing the whole Establishment ...	60,000
Water, Gas, Heating Apparatus ...	60,000
4 Farm-houses and appendages for Farms ...	16,000
Stocking ditto ...	16,000
Baths, Gymnasias, Cloisters for each side ...	24,000
Drainage, laying out interior of the Square, and Terrace outside ...	20,000
4 Towers over the Culinary Establishments for Chim- nies, Observatories, &c. ...	20,000
Contingencies ...	20,000
	<u>£700,000</u>
£700,000, at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent. ...	£35,000
Annual Repairs ...	10,000
Annual Cost ...	<u>£45,000</u>

**Socialism.** The most important result of Mr. Owen's labours, acting upon the minds of a multitude prepared to receive his views, has been the rise of a considerable and regularly organised Society, pledged to the support of the principles which he espouses, and, generally speaking, looking up to him as their respected, and now venerable, head. The *Socialists*, as a body, adhere to the metaphysical, moral, and economical doctrines which Mr. Owen maintains; but the class includes many who dissent from some of his views upon the subject of religion, and of others who doubt whether in following the dictates of his ardent enthusiasm, his judgment has always equalled his sincerity and zeal.

The Society was first established in a double form in May, 1835. "The Association of all Classes of all Nations" was chiefly intended for the dissemination of principles;—the "National Community Friendly Society," for the collection of funds to realize the desired objects. In May, 1839, these two Societies were incorporated into one, and enrolled by Act of Parliament, under the title of the "Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists." The title of "Religionists" being adopted, apparently, to secure for the Society the protection of the existing laws in favour of religious bodies. From the "Constitution and Laws" of the Society are deduced the following rules, which regulate its operations so far as its means and extension permit.

The Government of the Association is vested in a central Board of Directors, chosen annually by the "Congress," or general meeting of delegates from the Branch Societies, which is held every year in one of the principal towns of the empire, usually Manchester or Birmingham. The Central Board consists of a President, Vice President, Treasurer, General Secretary, and three other members. Three persons are annually appointed by the Congress as Trustees of the Society, who, in virtue of their office, are also members of the Board. It is the duty of this Board to direct and control the proceedings of the Society; to see that the laws are obeyed; to receive from the District Boards applications for Charters, and reports upon them, and to grant charters when expedient; to examine and appoint Missionaries, and direct their proceedings; to publish tracts; to appoint subordinate officers; to summon the annual or special sessions of the Congress; and generally to take the most efficient means of disseminating their principles and of applying them to practice.

Great Britain and Ireland are divided into Districts, with Missionary stations in each. At each station a District Board is formed, consisting of the Missionary and six members of the Branch Society at the station. The Branch Societies consist of persons to whom a charter has been granted by the Central Board, when it

has been ascertained that the applicants are by character and knowledge fitted to promote the objects of the Society. If the individuals wishing to form a Branch Society be fewer than twenty-five, they are required to form a class in connexion with the nearest Branch until they reach the required number.

The district Missionaries and stationed Lecturers of the Society are required to produce testimonials of good character; to give proof of their knowledge upon the subject they are required to teach, by reading, and afterwards defending, before their examiners, an original essay upon some important topic of the science of society;—and likewise of their oratorical powers, by delivering and defending an extempore address upon a subject proposed without previous notice. The members of the Society are selected with care, chiefly from the most liberal, industrious, and moral of the working classes. Before an individual can be admitted as a member, he must be entered on the roll of candidates for three months; at the end of this period, he is required to be examined by the Committee of the Branch Society to which he desires to belong, and if he is found qualified by knowledge of the principles, objects, and laws of the Society, and general fitness, he is passed as member.

The General Fund for defraying the expenses of the Society is maintained by weekly subscriptions of three halfpence from each single member, and of one penny from the wives of members. The Community Fund, for carrying out the formation of Communities of United Interests, is raised by weekly payments of not less than sixpence. The sum required with each member to ensure the full benefits of the Society is £50. The candidates for admission into the communities, when they are formed, will be elected by the Society on the recommendation of the majority of the members of the Branch to which they belong. Other qualifications being equal, those whose payments have been kept up fully shall be first eligible; but as it may happen that the members best fitted in the most important respects are least able to furnish the pecuniary

quota, it will not be required, in all cases, that the £50 should have been actually paid. Labour being recognized as the only true source of wealth, active and industrious producers, intelligent and of good disposition, would soon be able to realize an equivalent to the Society for the deficiency in their pecuniary qualification.

The rules with regard to the contemplated communities proceed upon the principle of common property. The members will have an equal right in all communities; and every accommodation in buildings, stock, machinery, and scientific improvements, will go to augment the transferable value of the £50 investments of members, as in a joint-stock company. Under the working of this principle the members will enjoy the advantages of easily changing their locality of residence.

It remains to be seen what has been the progress of a Society with an organization so systematic. Their last published Report contains a list of sixty-five Branch Societies in England and Scotland. The number of enrolled members is upwards of three thousand; of these the London Branches furnish nearly one-third. Eighteen Missionaries and salaried Lecturers were in appointment the preceding year, whose weekly audiences are stated to have been on the average 10 or 12,000 persons. The last meeting of their Congress was held at Manchester in May, 1841, Mr. Owen attending as President of the Society. An application was then reported as having been made, and granted, to a Branch Society at New York.

In Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Worcester, Bristol, and several other large towns, 'Halls of Science' have been erected, and in others 'Social Institutions' are supported, in which lectures are delivered, and social meetings are held for the instruction or recreation of the members, or for the general purposes of the Society.

The subjects upon which the Missionaries are charged to treat in the fulfilment of their duty are the principles of the social theory adopted by the Society; but the discussions into which they are

drawn by the attacks and misrepresentations of those parties who dread innovations upon old established customs and privileges, divert them too often from the main object of their mission. Instead of spreading a practical knowledge of the advantages of co-operation, of social union, and improved domestic economy, these lectures degenerate frequently into skirmishes with the partisans of the church, or occasionally with some political party; although, generally speaking, the Society disclaims all interference with political objects. Many of the missionaries are men of native talent but of little education, and the strength and fervour of their convictions are not always supported by the power of logical reasoning, or by steadiness of intellect sufficient to enable them to steer clear of these rocks of social offence. The marriage subject is an ever-fruitle source of calumny and mis-statement. The freedom of divorce which Mr. Owen contends ought to be permitted to the poor as well as to the rich, is all which his disciples seem to demand, in addition to the recent improvements in the established law of marriage in this country. If Mr. Owen himself pursues the subject farther, it is, according to his own declaration, with relation to a far superior state of society to the present, considered in its moral aspect,—but these speculations are irrelevant to the practical object of introducing a union of interest among all mankind in the means of life, comfort, and improvement. This is, however, a ready handle for accusation, and it is not suffered to lie idle. The careful consideration which the Society requires from its members before they enter the married state, might be held as a guarantee for their respect for it. By the laws of the Society “persons desiring to marry announce their intention publicly in the Sunday assemblies—if at the end of three months their intention remain unaltered, they make a second declaration;—which declaration being registered in the books of the Society, constitutes the marriage.”

The conditions of entrance into the Society serve in some measure as vouchers for the general morality and intelligence of the

body ; and if any other were required, the character and tone of the periodical which circulates among them, "The New Moral World," as compared with those which corrupt the minds and taste of other classes of the same level, is more than sufficient. It would be a contradiction to the laws of the human mind if the constant handling of the great topics of natural morality, and the adoption of the tone of elevated sentiment and benevolence, did not leave some effect upon the character and conduct. In consideration of such effects some portion of self-conceit and sufficiency may be tolerated, until superior education shall have reduced them to a just proportion.

There seems to be a growing anxiety among the members of the Society to realize some of the objects of their association ; they have been endeavouring to work on the public mind for some years, and they find in it an additional disposition to inquire into the soundness of their views ; but operatives with small means can scarcely be expected to continue making pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of "working upon the public mind,"—and yet little else can be calculated upon at present from their unaided exertions ; and supposing they could by the union of their efforts form communities, they cannot yet be considered as sufficiently advanced in knowledge and wisdom to escape the difficulties which overwhelmed New Harmony and Orbiston. It appears to be the general opinion, and Mr. Owen gave expression to it at the last meeting of their 'Congress,' that until the members of such associations shall have been qualified by training and education to take their natural rights and responsibilities, affairs must be managed for them by one Head, competent to direct them in accordance with their acknowledged principle, and with power to choose fitting officers to assist in the same object. This is in effect a reduction to the St. Simonian maxim of government—of rule by "the most capable," and must be open to the same objection, that the very possession of power produces disqualification, by its corrupting influences, unless that power is the power of the proprietor whose interest depends upon



the success of his plan, and is therefore strictly connected with that of the governed. The success of Mr. Owen at New Lanark, as of Mr. Vandaleur at Ralahine, seems to have resulted from the fact of his being proprietor, and retaining absolute power over the disposal of his property.

Two years ago the Society under notice took possession of a leasehold estate of 500 acres, at Tytherley, in Hampshire, for the purpose of forming upon it an experimental community, with the advice and sanction of Mr. Owen; and upon this the attention of the members has been anxiously fixed. The land is held of the proprietor with the power of ultimate purchase; it is beautifully situated, and, under proper cultivation, is considered likely to be highly productive; but the soil had been previously exhausted, and much outlay has been required for its improvement. Many difficulties and discouragements have been encountered, some of which have been surmounted, while some remain. The accommodation for residents at Queenwood, upon the estate, is small, and was utterly inadequate for the numbers who at first were admitted as members. Much discomfort and confusion were the consequence. At present the number of inmates is reduced to the few who can be lodged with tolerable comfort; and buildings are in process of erection which will accommodate a much larger number. From the Report of the proceedings at Tytherley, published in May, 1841, it appears that there were fifteen adults and five children then resident at Queenwood. The weekly cost of each of the former was calculated to be 7s. 1d., exclusive of rent; including, for food, 4s. 7d.; for fuel, light, washing, &c., 11d.; clothing, 7d.; and pocket money, 1s. The whole sum expended from the commencement of the undertaking in October, 1839, had been £6580. 10s. 1d.; of which the Community Fund had advanced above £6000. Additional money has been obtained by means of loans, the interest of which is charged upon the estate, and which are to be paid off as the profits will permit. At the time the Report in question was made, the concern, owing to the heavy expenses of

the cultivation, showed a balance of loss, but since the crops were gathered in the prospect has improved, and is said to be encouraging for the future. Much internal happiness and concord seem to prevail at present in the little community. The time and attention of the members are much engrossed in their field labours, in which they have the assistance of about twenty hired labourers, but they have their evening studies and occasional recreation. The women take the household management and domestic offices by turns of a month each, in the several departments. They seem to be respected by their neighbours, and to have overcome the prejudice which existed at first against them. Their Governor had been applied to by the local authorities to put his name upon the list of nominees for the Board of Guardians, and upon one occasion sat as chairman of a vestry meeting in the parish church. It is in contemplation, if sufficient funds can be raised, to found an educational establishment at Tytherley, to introduce also such trades as are adapted to the locality, and to set up a printing establishment for the Society, to be worked by its own members. Tracts to the amount of 18,000 have been distributed by the Society within the last three months.

In comparing St. Simonianism with Owenism it has been well and forcibly said,—“the first electrified the world with its vivid representations of universal order and harmony, but it was not adapted for taking root in the earth. The second is adapted for taking root in the earth, but not for captivating the fancy. The first was spiritual, imaginative, elegant. It drew forth abundance of zeal and noble resolution. The theory was sublime, and the intentions were benevolent ; but it is a law of nature that all growth shall begin at the root, and that a house shall not be built by beginning at the chimney tops. The imaginative is a superstructure to be reared upon the foundation—not a foundation upon which to build—practically. In this latter respect, therefore, Owenism is to all appearance the most natural and probable basis of a social system ; its

very materiality and mechanical character are strong arguments in favour of the supposition; its philosophy is the influence of physical arrangements on the character of man. Both systems may be said to be based upon a religious principle, the one upon that of universal unity and harmony, and the law of progress which pushes society forward to universal association; the other upon the formation of the character upon the basis of philosophical necessity.\* "The idea of God," says St. Simon, "is for man the conception of unity, order, and harmony, the belief that he has a destination, and the explanation of this destiny. The sciences derive their power from an idea essentially religious—that there is consistency, order, and regularity in the succession of phenomena." But admitting as he does its main principle, necessitarianism seems in some sort distasteful to him. "The future is *necessary*," he allows, "but when the feelings, the sympathies are interested in its realization, it becomes *providential*."

**Fourierism.** The desire of social union and perfection puts on a third aspect in our times. Fourierism presents the same leading features with those of the two foregoing systems;—partaking in some measure of the characteristics of each, while it has strong distinctive peculiarities of its own. Fourier, like St. Simon and Owen, believed himself to be the discoverer and herald of the true system of society, and devoted his life, amidst discouragement and disappointment, to declare it to the world—a world which would not hear;—deaf to the living voice, yet listening to its echoes. St. Simonianism and Fourierism are illustrations of the frequently observed fact that a sect receives an impulse from the death of its founder. When the interest and sanctity which attaches to the memory of the dead is added to the truth which he taught—when the doctrine is taken up by minds of a more practical character than are those which generally enunciate new truths, or old truths in a new form, and which in pruning away the luxuriant and su-

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

perfluous growths with which enthusiasm and inventive power have encumbered them, can adapt them to the understanding and wants of the multitude—then only are they likely to spread beyond the limited circle of personal devotion. “That which thou sowest is not quickened unless it die”—or seem to die.

Charles Fourier was born at Besançon in France, in 1772. He was well educated, although his parents were in trade, and he himself was destined to similar pursuits. “He showed considerable talent at an early age. At seven he wrote a poetical essay on the death of a pastry-cook, which astonished the professors of the college at which he was placed, and in 1785 he carried off the two chief prizes of his class for Latin poetry. His favourite study at this time was geography, and he passed whole nights over maps which he had purchased with his pocket-money. The culture of flowers was his favourite recreation. His room was a flower-garden, in which he had collected plants of various countries, and for which he adopted various modes of culture. He was passionately fond of music, and at a subsequent period continued to cultivate the science, and made it, as it were, the natural algebra of his writings. The heart of Fourier was always in harmony with his professions. When at school, he shared for a long time his breakfast with a poor half-starved peasant, and this self-abnegation was not known until the individual in whose favour it was exercised, could by the absence of Fourier, speak of it without wounding his delicacy.”\* Upon leaving school Fourier was placed in a commercial house at Lyons, in connexion with which he afterwards travelled through France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. In 1793 he entered into business on his own account at Lyons, and invested his patrimony in colonial produce. By the decree of the Convention which declared Lyons in a state of siege, he was suddenly ruined. His life was several times in danger during those fearful times, and he was shortly compelled to enter the army, in which he served for six years. At the end of that time he returned to Lyons.

\* Social System of Fourier, by Gibbons Merle, Chambers' Journal.

During these years of hard-earned experience, Fourier had observed and thought much ; he had sympathized with the miseries of humanity and endeavoured to trace their cause,—and this he believed to be ignorance. His whole mind was intent upon finding a remedy, and to this he now applied himself. Two facts are recorded which gave a bent to his speculations. At five years old he noticed the falsehoods which his father's shopman uttered to a customer in recommending his goods ; the child innocently revealed the imposition to the purchaser, and in his simplicity looked to his father for applause, but to his great astonishment he met with a severe reprimand. At the age of nineteen he was required to assist in the destruction of a quantity of grain at Marseilles, for the purpose of enhancing the price of the remainder. These two incidents indelibly impressed his mind, and caused him to reflect on the falsehood and fraud which are imposed upon man from his infancy ; and upon the nature of competition and monopoly which require, for the benefit of some, the destruction of the gifts of Nature. Had Nature made these anomalies essential to the state of man, when nothing corresponding was to be found in the rest of her domain ? And if she had not, how were they to be removed ? The principle which guided him in his search was, that pain, either physical or moral, is the sign of error—pleasure, that of truth. Two instincts have been held to be in man, the good, and the bad. Philosophy has been trying for five thousand years to suppress the bad, to no other end but to prove that they are as fixed and unconquerable as the good, and therefore of an equally superior origin. Instead of suppressing them, they must be directed,—therefore “ to utilise the passions—to assure to them a free and entire development, so that all may act beneficially, and none injuriously—to associate the faculties and their energies”—constitute the aim and object of Fourier's philosophy.

He published, in 1808, a development of his views in a work entitled “*La Théorie des Quatres Mouvements*,” which contains the essential points of his system, his later works being chiefly expla-

nations and illustrations of the first. The philosophic commercial clerk, for such he was, ventured not to affix his full name to his production. Under the simple title of "Charles," the author modestly invited the objections which society should make to his theory. "He did not wish so much the applause and sympathy of the many as the pecuniary resources of the few. He wanted the means to realize the idea of his mind. He cared little about gaining converts to the theory, but he sighed for the benefits of experience. He hoped that the magnificence of the results—the beauty of the solutions—their mathematical rigour—the pomp of his plans—their grandeur and utility, would determine in his favour the co-operation of some great capitalist or distinguished personage. Thus did Fourier patiently wait, making little noise, but, strong in faith, looking forward with confidence to the dawn of a new era. But he waited in vain." "Charles" had few readers, nor until 1814, a single convert, when he gained his first disciple, M. Juste Muiron, who gave pecuniary aid to the publication of his next work, "*Traité de l'Association Domestique Agricole*," which appeared in 1822; M. Muiron also attempted to set on foot a trading co-operative establishment, which was effectually opposed by the Academy at Besançon.

Fourier consoled himself for the neglect of the world by developing still farther the details of his plans. "*Le Nouveau Monde Industriel*," published in 1829, and several lesser productions, were written with this object. Deprived of the means of realizing his project, he occupied himself in describing the arrangements relating to it with astonishing and ridiculous minuteness. These eccentric accompaniments were the only garments in which Fourier would clothe his system, and he met with derision and disappointment. He applied to the different philosophers who enjoyed popular favour, but they one and all rejected him; neither the followers of St. Simon, nor Owen, whom he besought to make trial of his system in some one of his prospective communities, would lend him a helping hand, and in his anger he called them quacks

and egotists in a spirit which he afterwards deeply regretted. For some years he had maintained himself as a letter copier, and in 1832, at the age of sixty, he retired upon a small income, to indulge in the dreams of his enthusiastic imagination. In these he saw the full accomplishment of his scheme, the only happiness he could enjoy. No monarch, no capitalist seconded his wish; but at length a few disciples gathered round him, and among them one who brought the energies of a scientific and practical mind to bear upon the cause which he had espoused. M. Victor Considérant, impressed with the idea that beauty and truth were in the system, desired to introduce it to the world freed from its speculative trappings; but Fourier, with the idolatry of a man who has given up his life to an idea, clung tenaciously even to its puerilities. At length conferences were opened at Paris, in which Fourier developed isolated parts of his system, whilst his new proselyte opened his first course of public lectures in the town of Metz.

It was at this critical period that St. Simonianism, after having shone brilliantly for a short period, was overwhelmed, and its followers dispersed. From its fugitive ranks Fourier gained many valuable recruits; among others M. Jules Lechevalier and M. Abel Transon, whose pens, besides those of M. Considérant, M. Muiron, and of many others, were engaged in support of his theory. A journal called '*Le Phalanstère*,' was established in 1832 as the organ of their views. But talking and writing did not suffice for these ardent reformers, an attempt was made to realize the ideas of Fourier. Operations were commenced on some large estates at Condé-sur-Vesgres; the land was put in cultivation, buildings were begun, but the funds were insufficient; the disciples became aware that it was necessary first to count the cost, and to provide ample means before resorting to practical measures. This failure damped the spirits of many; the *Phalanstère* was given up, and Fourier found himself again alone and deserted. His last work, "*La Fausse Industrie*," was published in 1835;—in 1837 he died,

sad and dejected at the disappointment of his hopes and aspirations.

In society, Fourier appeared grave, reserved, and indifferent. Accustomed to feel that the world did not understand or appreciate him, he contemned the world; but among friends he was cheerful and communicative, indulgent to the ignorant, but severe upon philosophers. He sought the poor rather than the rich, rarely refusing the invitations of the former, while he seemed to shun those of the latter. He was fond of animals,—and of children, as yet uncorrupted by the “incoherent institutions” of society. He was particularly scrupulous in putting no one to trouble or expense on his account, and exact in keeping his promises. By constant order and economy he made the most of his narrow means; when his family resources fell below £100 a-year, he made up the sum by spending part of his time in earning the deficiency; but as bequests occasionally fell to him from relations, he was often for years together devoted to his studies entirely. At his death he had an independent income of £60 per annum, besides the profits of his works. He was small and well-proportioned in person, with eyes and forehead mild and poetic. His works abound with quotations and illustrations which prove the extent of his information and research. The traces of his early tastes are visible in his writings; he was particularly fond of clothing his ideas, to the effect perhaps of hiding them, in the terms peculiar to his favourite sciences—of music and astronomy most especially. Upon his tomb-stone at Montmartre is engraven the leading maxim of his philosophy,—“*Les attractions sont proportionnelles aux destinées,*”—*The destiny of man is proportioned to his desires.*

Victor Considérant, after Fourier's death, revived the drooping cause, and became the editor of a new periodical called the “Phalange,” which he still conducts; a party of seceders set on foot a second called the “Chronique du Mouvement Sociale.” “Le Nouveau Monde” was also devoted to the same service. In the course of a few years Fourierism reached an importance which



obtained for it the patronage of the Duke of Orleans, and of many of the Deputies of the Chambers, and the assistance of some of the diplomatic corps at Paris.\* Like St. Simonianism it has engaged in France the attention of men of cultivated minds. "In this respect we believe there is a very notable distinction between France and England. The social system has never, up to this very hour, been patronized or encouraged, (to any extent,) by men of education and learning. In France the very highest order of nobility and talent do not hesitate to avow themselves friendly. Probably the repression of public opinion by the severity of Government has a tendency to create this social prepossession in private. The remark has been frequently made that the principles of genuine liberty have been vulgarized in Britain, by the unlimited scope which is given to the expression of opinion, both by the tongue and the pen. This evil will ultimately cure itself with us; but in the meantime we have to overcome the obstacles with which it has impeded our progress, and the difficulties which we experience in so doing, will give the people some lessons in true philosophy, which it is indispensable for them to learn before they can be happy."†

In his system Fourier professes not only to show, as others have done, the advantages of union and co-operation, but to give to the world a new social theory. He divides the history of humanity into four forms or periods, *incoherently social—savagism, patriarchalism, barbarism, and civilization*, which is the state in which the greatest part of Europe now exists, and which "creates the elements of happiness, but not the happiness." This is reserved for the combined societies of the future, fruitful in good and in riches. To this future Fourier gives the name of *harmony*. Civilization and all the historic periods known, have their narrow foundation on *family management, or morselling*; harmonized society will

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\* See Series of articles on Fourier, New Moral World. Chambers' Journal. London Phalanx.

† Rev. J. E. Smith.

have the larger basis of an *industrial phalanx*, or an *associated commune*. By *duality* Fourier understands the opposite effects of a natural law, or desire, according to the different circumstances in which it acts. Under the name of industry he comprehends all scientific, artistic, educational, as well as agricultural and manufacturing labour—all labour useful to humanity. *Attractive Industry* he holds to be the active destiny of man. The first of the numerous conditions of a good social organization, is to produce the greatest possible sum of wealth, in order that this wealth may flow back to every one, and give to all the means of satisfying the wants of their nature, so that life may be to all a splendid banquet and well-served; not, as to day, a poor and miserable table where the famished guests snatch the morsels from each other. Civilization devotes a large proportion of its power and labour to *produce nothing* or *to destroy*. The evils of this state, including the unprofitable consumption of wealth, the miseries produced by competition, and the injury inflicted on producer and consumer by the system of trading, founded on the principle of buying cheap and selling dear, Fourier details no less forcibly than St. Simon and Owen.

“The different phases of civilization are its *Infancy*—characterised by exclusive marriage, and patriarchal feudalism with its chivalric spirit. Brute force no longer governing, but trick, fraud, and hypocrisy developing themselves largely. In the second phase of *Adolescence*, the industrious are enfranchised, the ancient vassals become people and citizens, the sciences and arts are cultivated, and to the illusions of chivalry succeed those of liberty,—we say *illusions*, for truly to realize liberty there are other conditions than writing the word on a monarchical or a republican constitution. The *Plenitude* of this second phase evolves great industrial resources, from the progress of the arts and of science, particularly from the discoveries of chemistry, and the means of rapid nautical communication, but the growing opposition of individual to general interest delivers over the soil, in the mass, to

*anarchical culture.* At the same time fiscal loans contain the germ of political decadence, and tend to the formation of industrial feudality. In the third phase of *Decline*, social power no longer reposes on the escutcheon and parchment, but on money. The spirit of the epoch contains the germ of a new feudality—the financial, industrial, or mercantile, of which the workmen are the vassals and slaves. The power of great fortunes, multiplied by joint-stock concentration, by fabrication on a large scale, the employment of machines, and the operations of large houses, crush the middling and lower industrious and traders.\* The destitute workman marches hand in hand with pauperism, and revolutions are made for social rather than political rights. The principle of free competition produces an *anarchical commerce*, and the illusions

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\* “The immense superiority of large over small manufactories has been sufficiently demonstrated by facts. Wherever a great manufacturing establishment, with its machines, capital, vast workshops, and division of labour, comes to instal itself, it suddenly crushes the small concerns of the like kind throughout its proximity. Also, when a machine comes to be introduced, it instantaneously breaks the arms of a multitude of workmen. It is known that we have not dared to realize the use of mechanical saws in the quarries of stone about Paris, because this immense power would take the bread from a crowd of workmen. M. Lafitte wished to establish a grand central brew-house, and he shrunk back from the idea of a similar result. Again at Paris, we have not dared to establish machines to sew slop pantaloons, because this invention would be fatal to thirty thousand women who now live by this work.

“Political economists say the evil is transitory. What, would they have science stop? Does it not daily produce inventions and mechanical improvements? And this evil called *transitory* is renewed every day, and consequently *permanent*. Again, these Doctors say, the introduction of a machine is good for the workman in two ways; first, the objects manufactured fall in price, and the workmen can procure them cheaper. So, then, a workman who gained twenty-pence a-day in making cotton caps, ought to think himself very happy when he is deprived of work by the introduction of a machine, for then the cotton cap, which used to cost eightpence, will only cost fivepence afterwards. Happy workman, take off thy cap to these Doctors! The second reason they give is, that the lowering the price augments consumption, and consequently the quantity of fabrication, so that as many hands are employed as before. Ah! but before it comes to this, during the time that passes between the reduction of hands and their return to work, what happens then, my masters? Productions would lower in price, truly; but it is also true, that the working class ‘would strictly not have a penny to procure them.’” Victor Considérant.

of the age are those of political economy. In this state of things, the usurpation of the princes of finance upon territorial possessions will tend to bring in the fourth phase. This last phase of *Conductivity* is marked by the regular constitution of industrial feudality, when not only commerce, manufacture, and circulating capital, but the soil of the country will be in possession of the princes of finance, or the large capitalists and joint-stock companies; for their own interest they will organize the system of industry, which will then be under their sole control; they will regulate production, consumption, and distribution, and give universal education, as the precise means of realizing the largest profits on their capital. They will have the power—their interest will suggest the means, and thus the true system of industrial association will by degrees introduce itself, even from the depths of social crime. It becomes us to elevate ourselves, with the resources and instruments we possess, to a superior period without passing through the social infamy of the fourth.’\*’

“Human nature having received all the passions, or inherent faculties, necessary to association, cannot escape individual sufferings and general calamities, whilst, despising the social permanent revelation, it persists in living in *industrial incoherence* and *family partyism*. Admitting a real progress in the chain of the savage, patriarchal, barbarous, and civilized states,—a progress characterized principally by the development of the sciences and great industry,—these are but the four phases of human infancy, the unhappy period of the *movement subversive*.” All the calamities that history records, all the miseries that afflict us now, are the punishments due to a creature who resists the law of his own being which stimulates him to association, and not to disunion. Providence would be in contradiction to itself to allow of the same happiness to individualized, which it has designed for associated, society.

The first thing which ought to be done before *moral harmony*

▪ “Social Destiny.”

can be introduced, is to make a rapid increase of produce to extirpate indigence, the scourge that falls upon the inferior classes. For this reason it is necessary, to organize the whole system of industry, by which its products will be increased "four-fold," and to begin with the most common and productive employments, in which every family from the highest to the lowest is engaged,—those of domestic economy and housekeeping. If the theory of association is found, this ought to be its first application. But we must know how to associate capital and labour together, and not the labourers by themselves alone; we must associate interests, and we must discover a *process of association*.

Fouriër bases his social theory upon certain doctrines of moral philosophy strictly analogous to those of Phrenology, although he has a classification of his own, and a mode of treating them peculiar to himself; he also disclaims any acquaintance with Phrenology. The key-stone of his philosophy is this—that the natural impulses, desires, or, as he calls them, *attractions* of man, spring from his Creator and point unerringly to his happiness. That they are the cause of evil to him now is a proof that the system of things in which he lives is wrong, and therefore duty, restraint, punishment, are all words relating to a social state which is not in harmony with his indestructible passions. "Present society is so constituted that one can hardly be allowed to satisfy his desires without doing injury to himself or his fellows. Every man desires riches, for example, but the greatest number is denied them. Labour, and the practice of truth are seldom the ways of fortune. In almost every direction falsehood and fraud prevail. Does any one desire to procure the pleasures which civilization presents, it is an almost certain method of ruining his purse and his health. We cannot abandon one passion without sacrificing others. Love does wrong to friendship, and ambition causes us to forget both, &c. These observations are trivial; but instead of considering, as heretofore, these miseries as inherent in human nature, M. Fouriër calls this all a world turned upside down. As he has faith in the

*integrality of Providence*, he lays down as a first principle, that there exists a social mechanism appropriate to human nature, a mechanism which will make the interest of every man concur with the practice of truth, which will open to all a simple path to riches and happiness, and this path will be the obedience of each to the impulses which he receives from nature. Attraction is the one and universal law of all movements, social as well as material.\*

*Attraction passionnée* is the term given by Fourier to the impulses which nature gives anterior to reflection; its essential springs being twelve radical passions, to each of which the social scheme ought to give the fullest satisfaction.† Of these, five relate to the *external senses*, and they tend to the luxury or happiness of the individual:—four to the affections which bind man to family and immediate friends, tending to the formation of particular friendships, or *groups*,—they are *friendship*, *ambition*, (the source of political groups,) *love*, *affection for family*:—and three which are the essential sources of social organization,—the *cabalistic*, or the spirit of party, of speculation, of intrigue, the *composite*, the spirit of enthusiasm, of accord, and *alternativeness*, or *restlessness*, which produces the love of frequent change. “Let these twelve passions have free and uncontrolled exercise, and the result will be the religious sentiment, or passion for social harmony, or universal unity, just as the blending of the prismatic colours produces the white solar ray.”

That which constitutes character is the dominion of one or more of these passions, in phrenological language the superior develop-

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\* “Have I occasion to observe,” asks M. Abel Transon, “that Fourier does not attempt to justify the errors into which man is drawn by his passions in the present state of society? In the *subversive order*, the *piecemeal system*, the Christian law which commands man to suppress his passions is infinitely wise and superior to every other.”

† Fourier uses the word *passion* in a scientific sense, as the motive force of our nature, quite apart from the morality of the acts consequent; he considers the passions as the *steam* by which the whole engine of society is worked, and the machinery must be so adapted as to avail itself of the whole power for useful ends.

ment of one or more faculties ; the rank of the character in the scale is determined by the number of these dominant faculties, and the greater their number the more elevated is the social destiny of the individual. Ordinary characters, whom Fourier calls *solitones*, have but one dominant passion ; these are, in the scale of character, that which private soldiers are in a regiment. Nature does not produce these characters by chance, but in a fixed and determinate proportion, so that when society shall have passed from its present incoherence to a state of social organization, every individuality will have its proper place, and every character will be in the universal order like a necessary note in one immense concert. "Nature is wiser than man ; she does not produce characters in one monotonous mould such as custom and fashion would dictate ; but she produces such varieties as will form when united, one harmonious whole. As with wonderful precision she adjusts the proportion of the sexes, so she adjusts the character of the individual to the wants of the social régime."

The four passions which tend to form mankind into groups have each a material and spiritual principle ;—thus the groups which friendship forms may be produced by the spiritual affinity of character, or the material affinity of industrial propensities ; those formed by ambition,—by the spiritual affinity of combination for glory, or by the material affinity of interest ; those formed by love, —by the material affinity of the charm of the senses, or the spiritual affinity of real affection ; those of familism,—by the material affinity of consanguinity, or the spiritual affinity of adoption. In the groups formed by friendship and ambition, the spiritual principle holds the first rank, the material principle rules in the other two. In the two first, man has the superiority ; in the two latter, it belongs undoubtedly to woman. Groups may be formed by the spiritual or material principle of each of these passions ; but the attachment is most perfect when formed upon both. Groups may also be formed by the mixture of passions, but one will always be

dominant. Groups may also be formed sometimes by the *contrast* of character.

The object of association is to afford scope for *attraction passionnée*, or the impulses and faculties bestowed by nature.\* The next thing to discover is a mode of association which shall permit their free development,—“ which shall ratify the alliance of sound reason with nature, by guaranteeing the acquisition of riches and happiness, which are the wish of nature, to the practice of justice and truth, which are the decrees of sound reason, and can only reign by association ;—which shall produce *unity internal*, or peace of man with himself, by ending the internal war which is occasioned by putting passion and attraction at variance with wisdom and law ;—and *unity external*, or the relation of man with God and the universe. The universe communicates with God but by attraction, no creature from the stars down to the insects arriving at harmony but by following the impulses of attraction, it follows that man must by attraction attain the end of the Divine plan—harmony and unity.”

Almost all social reformers, Fourier remarks, are more occupied with the constitutions to be given to empires than in determining whether the present domestic system, the isolation of families, and the dissociation of industry ought to continue. Whereas “ it is the commune which is the corner-stone of the social edifice, however vast it may be, and it signifies little what may be the system of government, if interests are divided and opposed in the commune. Here then social amelioration must be begun.”† Fourier accordingly commences the process of association by the formation of small knots, or groups, consisting of seven or eight individuals united in affection, character, or pursuits. Each individual will be the member of several groups, in each of which some one or

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\* The definition which St. Simon gives of the object of association—“ the moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of the most numerous class,” Fourier censures as comparatively vague and barren.

† Victor Considérant.



more of his dominant "passions," or faculties, will find exercise; in some the passion of friendship will be the bond of union; in others, that of ambition, or love of glory; in some the feelings of love or admiration will be called into play; in others, those of the family affections. The *material affinity* of union in some specific pursuit or labour will strengthen the bonds of attachment in these groups, or form the principal tie of union among other groups. The workman, therefore, will not be solitary or isolated; he will be stimulated to his labours by the attraction of his adhesive tendencies. He will also be urged on by the titles and distinctions which each group will award to its members. Fourier thus admits the principle of emulation and competition in his groups, and also between one group and another which will rival each other in the perfection of their labours, but he assumes that it will be a friendly competition, a generous rivalry. Each group will also determine the wages of its members. The great principle of Fourier's industrial system is to make *labour attractive*, so that every one shall be drawn to it *freely* and by *passion*. "It is the grand, the fatal characteristic of civilized industry to be repugnant, to have for *pivotal* motive nothing but the fear of death from hunger!" In *Harmony* then every arrangement will be made to obviate the causes of this repugnance, labour will be made a social pleasure in which even the rich will eagerly participate, and in which all will join with friendly zeal and enthusiasm. The workshops will combine salubrity, neatness, and elegance; and the manners and exterior deportment of the workmen will present nothing gross or offensive. In Fourier's second leading industrial principle of "short sittings," he provides for the "restless" faculty of our nature. No kind of labour will be continued for more than two, at most three hours, at a time, except in some especial departments of art or science. Thus every one will be able to devote himself, in the course of a day, to many different occupations, some of mental, some of bodily labour. The formation of workmen into groups admits of this, since ten or twelve individuals will perform in one hour

the labour which occupies a single workman for a day. Minute division of labour is therefore necessary, that every one may acquire a real skill in the different and numberless employments in which he will take part.

The association of the groups working at the same branch of industry, the culture of the vine, or the manufacture of a fabric, will constitute a *series*, and every facility will be given to the labourers to pass from one series to another, when wearied of any one particular occupation. With respect to the distribution of the rewards of labour, Fourier differs with both Owen and St. Simon, although he agrees with the latter in condemning the principle of equal participation, or community. The series will be classed in the order of *necessary*, *useful*, and *agreeable*. The reward allotted by the community for the labour of each series will not be determined by the quantity of its products, but upon the rank which it holds in this classification, and will be proportioned to the wealth of the whole society. For instance, a series devoted to a productive labour, such as the cultivation of fruits, will be perhaps less remunerated than that charged with the care of young children, if this last labour be considered more useful or less attractive. Each individual, by the very nature of the system, will be engaged in a great number of series, therefore it will be his interest that justice should be done in all, or else he will lose in one what he unjustly gains in another. The dividend allotted to each series will be distributed among its groups upon analogous principles, but the groups will dispense it to their constituent individuals upon another principle, which Fourier claims as peculiar to his own theory—in certain fixed proportions to *labour*, *capital*, and *talent*; this proportion being—to labour, five-twelfths; to capital, four-twelfths; to talent, three-twelfths. To the poorest associate will be allotted a minimum of lodging, clothing, and food, and even of pleasure, as the privilege of hunting or fishing, admission to public entertainments, &c. Industry being rendered *attractive*, the community will be able to

afford to make this advance without risk ; but so long as industry is *repugnant*, the workman must be stimulated by indigence.

“ The aggregate of the series of each community will form the social household, the ‘ Phalange,’ (Phalanx,) and when it is determined how many individuals shall compose this, how much land it should occupy, the form of its habitation, the mechanism of its functions of production, distribution, and consumption, then we come to consider the association of the Phalanges of the same district, and ultimately rise to the organization of the whole globe.”

With respect to the administrative power, each group, series, and phalange, will elect its chief. No one will have a deliberate voice in a group, series, or phalange, in which he has not employment. The electoral right will necessarily be proportioned to the capacity, because the number of an individual's votes will depend upon the number of groups and series of which he is a member, and the number of these will depend upon the number of his dominant passions, or faculties, upon which we have seen that his rank in the scale of character depends. The authorities thus constituted by election exercise only the power of opinion ; any farther constraint would be opposed to the whole spirit of the system which works by attraction. Their advice will be *passionately* followed, but it will not be binding ; a group would be free to delay its harvest in opposition to the judgment of the *Areopagus*. There can be no danger of a series compromising the interests of the phalange through obstinacy or caprice, for the members of one series will be allied to perhaps thirty others, so that their interest in one will be checked by their interest in others. This mingling of interests is the effect of “ short sittings of labour.”

“ The Phalange will be composed of the grand series of classes, namely, Household, Culture, Fabrication, Science, Fine Arts, &c. Each of this series of classes is divided into series of orders :— Forests, Meadows, Orchards, Gardens, &c. The subdivision is

continued into species and varieties, and we thus arrive at groups, or elements, of these different industrial series. Thus, industry organized in the natural method, in logical order, and as pure good sense would require, is far from resembling the anarchy of civilized industrialism. In the associated method convergence is complete: the Phalange is a compact body, acting as a wise army."

In the social domestic establishment the play of the twelve radical passions must be provided for, and first those which relate to the senses—internal health, and external luxury. "He who wishes to know how to form an association of men must know how to lodge, feed, and clothe them." M. Considérant in his exposition of Fourier's system, entitled "Social Destiny," contrasts in glowing colours the wretched arrangements of actual cities and habitations, with relation to the health and comfort of their populations, with those which science and art might construct in harmonious proportions, at an infinitely smaller cost, and to the gratification of the taste for beauty and order. "Is it God that made Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Madrid? Is it God or men? No; permanent misery, periodical plague, and the poisoning of the atmosphere, are the work of men. God has made the golden clouds of heaven, the wild thyme and the moss, the bird and the wood, the flower of the field and the lily of the valley." "Civilization has some rare palaces, and myriads of paltry dwellings, as it has rags for the mass, and cloth of gold and silk for its few favourites." Where there is concentration of will, edifices are raised proportioned to its power; even now the town-hall, the theatre, the church, are distinguished because a public principle has raised them. In *Harmony* all will be lodged in palaces. Fourier dwells, like Owen, upon the superior economy in construction and management obtained by the institution of a single cellar, magazine, granary, and kitchen, for hundreds of each; on the saving effected by the reduction of the number of individuals employed in domestic labour, and in the simplification of buying and selling, as well as the preventing of loss of time from the state of the atmosphere, or

of the seasons, by the combination of labour. He expatiates upon the luxuriant and picturesque beauty of a country in which the different kinds of cultivation are mingled together, with no restriction but the adaptation of the soil and situation to the different productions; instead of narrow enclosures crowded with twenty different sorts of produce. In the masses of our corn-fields and woods many spots may be found that would suit other cultures, and among the inferior plains many which might become cultivated glades.

Fourier carries forward his ideas to the time when by the force of associated action, deserts will be fertilized, the sterile hills reclothed with woods, and by the indirect results of man's exertions, even climates be tempered and improved. Unity of enterprise will ensure the prompt destruction of hurtful races of animals. "Observe how well civilization takes its measures, when the *wolf-hunter* is precisely the man who has most interest in the preservation of wolves; for without wolves there would be no wolf-hunter. Truly, *ma pauvre civilisation*, thy philosophers have well perfected thee! And, moreover, it is thus in everything. A rivulet runs through the valley, and the proprietors of the meadows which it traverses make it a subject of legal contest. In *Harmony* basins will be made at the head of the valleys, and the rivulet will be distributed, doubling and trebling the crops."

Mr. Owen's community is to be located in a *Parallelogram*, Fourier's in a *Phalanstère*. The Phalanstère is to be occupied by the industrial phalange of from sixteen to eighteen hundred persons, cultivating about nine square miles. The construction of the edifice is not arbitrary, as it must vary with different social periods and localities. As described by Fourier, it is to consist of a street gallery, with rows of houses on each side. The gallery is to be a covered street, heated or cooled according to the different seasons and climates. The floor of this covered way will be on a level with the first story of the houses, which will be of three stories, looking over the country or interior courts laid out with agreeable planta-

tions. Each associate will have his private dwelling proportioned to his fortune, and for this, as well as for board, he will have a fixed subscription with the phalange, with extras at command; and each, with the exception of furniture, linen, and objects for individual use, will share his moveable and fixed property with the community. All labours, interior as well as exterior, being exercised by groups and series of groups, the edifice will include a great number of public halls called *seristères*. The centre of the Phalanstère will be adapted for peaceable employments, for halls of repast, exchange, council, library, &c. In the centre also will be the temple, watch-tower, telegraph, observatory, &c. One of the wings will contain the noisy workshops, and the industrial assemblages of children, who are commonly noisy in industry as in recreation. The other wing will contain the caravansera, with ball-rooms, halls for strangers, &c. All the children, rich and poor, will lodge in the *entresol*, (an apartment between the ground-floor and first-floor, to which we have nothing in England corresponding,) to enjoy the benefit of the services of the night-guards, and because they ought to be separated from the adults. Each *seristère* will have apartments and cabinets attached to it for the groups and committees of each division. Every one will be at liberty; every one will create his circle; he may be *passionately attracted* to take part in the labours, the pleasures, or the repasts of some group—or he may stay at home and dine by himself—no one will rebuke him. Employment in short sittings will demand the luxury of sheltered communications, since without this the health of the workmen would be endangered during bad seasons. The whole Phalanstère is to be ventilated in summer, heated in winter, so that in *Harmony* each one will pass to his duties, his pleasures, without knowing whether it rains or blows, whether it is cold or hot. In agricultural operations each group will have its moveable tents to protect it from the heat of the sun; its booths in which to deposit clothes and instruments, and refreshments and collations, sent from the Phalanstère. Here the same principle of

“short sittings” will be acted upon; if “agriculture be the basis or ‘pivot’ of the social domestic establishment,” it is partly because it offers in the great variety of its labours a powerful charm for all ages, and everything will be foreseen and arranged in such a manner as to add to its attractions.

When the domestic system of association shall have been established, each community will be employed upon certain productions, the exchange of which with those of other remote communities, will bring them into correspondence; and each district will furnish an industrial cohort, to which will be reserved great advantages, to join during a campaign with those of other phalanges in works of common interest, such as roads, mining operations, &c., which will require by their nature an additional impulse of attraction.

Universal education will be given, collectively, by the commune. This alone can obviate the diversity of style and manner which now prevents the union of the extreme classes in common pursuits. General politeness, and unity of language, can only be established by a collective education which gives to the child of the poor man the manners of the rich. In this education woman will equally partake; she will be qualified equally for entering the field of industry, freed from all that renders it degrading to her sex, and her right to share the road to fortune and honour with man be admitted. Her talents and powers developed, she will be respected and independent, and no longer be compelled to exchange her best feelings and sympathies for mere support and protection. There will be no conventional impediments to marriage, which will be entered upon early, and without dowry; until that period, while mingling constantly in the industrial groups with the other sex, no other security for propriety will be needed, than the ever present eye of friends and equals of her own.

Fourier's mind was not contented with working out the social problem; his philosophical theories embraced the whole province of matter and of mind, of things visible and invisible, of life and immortality; he “extended his speculations through time and space

to the very skirts of the universe," to bring into harmony "science, nature, and revelation. These are the ornamental and atmospheric, or aerial departments of Fourierism, not necessarily connected with it as a practical system, but vastly entertaining to the imaginative mind which loves, at times, to rise above the clods of the valley, and shake off the dust it has gathered on its brogues."\*

That these were not necessary to the theory of the combination of industry, and that they were but speculations, Fourier himself admitted, deprecating a condemnation of the former because the latter might be founded in error. "Strange indeed," he says, "would be the disposition which would condemn all the productions of an author because some of them are defective!" He claimed the discovery of the *instinctive* and the *social movements*, or the attraction of the passions and instincts, and the attraction of man towards his future destinies, as the completion of the discovery which Newton made of the *material movement*, or attraction of matter. The three principles of nature are, according to him, God, matter, and justice, or *mathematics*. This last singular combination expressing, apparently, his doctrine of the universal analogy between moral and physical nature—justice being to the moral world what the science of mathematics is to the physical. From the leading axiom of his philosophy he deduced the immortality of the soul. "If it be true that our destinies are proportional to our desires, or tendencies, we must live again; for all in quitting this earth feel that there is something else to be done, to be enjoyed. We quit this life with regret at parting with those we love, or at having known nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. Each feels instinctively that ties yet bind him to this earth, that we have all still a task to accomplish here. Each expresses vaguely the desire of living again, of returning into this world, and there recommencing a life happier and wiser; this desire is satisfied by the metempsychosis of souls in humanity. The theory of Fourier

\* Rev J. E. Smith.



explains to us how our immortal souls will alternate from this life into the *ultra mundane* life; a life where the soul is disengaged from the body, to return anew upon this earth, and take again a new covering, and participate in the future progress and enjoyments of humanity."\* Many times, he believes, the souls of the departed thus return.

Fourier was a firm believer in Christianity as a Divine Revelation, but his notions were free and liberal, and he anxiously avoided the making of his school a religious sect, his task being, he considered, "to conciliate all parties, by the benefits of quadruple produce, attractive industry, and the mechanism of the passions." The Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus preached, Fourier held to have a double significance—a state of happiness in another life, and social regeneration in this. Jesus Christ came to reveal the first, the last he left to the operation of human reason. In Fourier's creed, ignorance and immorality constitute the crime against the Holy Spirit; and future punishments are not those of fire and brimstone, but the sufferings of a guilty conscience, whose thoughts and deeds are fully exposed; and future blessedness the ineffable rewards of a good conscience and universal approbation. The precepts of Christianity, he maintains, cannot be practised whilst the interests of men are jarring and divided, but the intensity of our sufferings, in the present iniquitous state of society, is pre-ordained as a powerful stimulus to the discovery of a superior system of social organization.

"Fourier and Owen agree on many points concerning the economy and moral advantages of association, but they differ entirely with respect to the principles of religion and distributive justice. Fourier believes that absolute community could only be realized with respect to such things as could be produced in such a relative degree of superabundance as would render them as common as air and water."† Notwithstanding these differences in doctrine, the

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\* Extract from Madame Gatti de Gamond's Work on Fourier, N. M. World.

† Mr. Doherty.

Fourierites, who may be called the Socialists of France, are in friendly relation with those of England. Mr. Doherty, one of their leading members, and editor of the *London Phalanx*, attended as their deputy at the last meeting of the "Congress" at Manchester.

The history of the two societies runs nearly parallel. The Fourierites have spread themselves and their writings widely through France and other countries, but the "model Phalanstère" is not yet completed. "The parent society has many partisans in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the United States. At Lyons there is a division of Fourierites under the name of *L'Union Harmonieuse*, which boasts of having corresponding societies in thirty-four towns in France, in Switzerland, and Algeria. It would appear also that the system has been introduced into Texas by an enlightened German. Determined to try the effect of the social system on a practical scale, this gentleman has induced fifty German families of New York to emigrate to Texas, where they are to live in community under the direction of a Fourierite, and it is expected that another emigration of one hundred German families will take place in the autumn of the present year. This is the first practical attempt to carry the doctrines of Fourier into operation, but the parent society is endeavouring to make arrangements for doing it on an extensive scale in France. Fourier's disciples, less enthusiastic than himself, and more prudent, perhaps, inasmuch as they know that the deep-rooted prejudices of society must be indulged, if they cannot be respected, until they shall disappear under the influence of practical conviction, have confined themselves to such parts of the system as may at once be brought into operation without exciting the fears of any government, or of any class of persons. The greater part of the branch societies limited their views to the establishment of agricultural and commercial communities, governed by their own laws so far as may regard all their internal regulations, but demanding for themselves no greater degree of liberty, as regards the established institutions, than can be fairly conceded by any government and

in any country. Hence it is that the modified Fourierites are gaining ground and receiving offers of capital, and even a certain degree of encouragement from the French Government."\* According to the testimony of Mr. Doherty, in 1840, there were at that period a "party united on social principles in Spain, with a journal of their own; in Sicily another, in Germany several, and in New York a numerous body also having a journal of their own.† On the 7th of April of the same year several public dinners took place at Paris to celebrate the birth of Fourier, at which many distinguished and influential persons attended. Among other toasts to his honour at one of these feasts, Lieutenant-General Bugeaud proposed one—'To the pacific union of the great human family by the association of individuals, nations, and races! To the annihilation of war! To the transformation of destructive armies into corps of industrious labourers, who will consecrate themselves to the cultivation and embellishment of the world!' Upon this occasion a society was established for the carrying out of Fourier's Social Theory, with a capital subscribed on the spot of 600,000*f*.

In September last (1841,) about a hundred workmen left Paris for Brazil, as the advance-guard of a body of 2000 colonists, who intend to establish a Phalanstèrian Society at St. Catherine, about 50 leagues from Rio Janeiro, where they have purchased land, by the assistance it is said of a Mr. Young, a large capitalist, of Amsterdam. The same gentleman has recently purchased the old

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\* Chambers' Journal, Sept. 1839.

† "The attempt at this universal harmony is being made in Germany, France, and Italy; but especially the two former, are eagerly engaged in the effect. In Germany it assumes the character of a mental philosophy, trying to harmonize and swallow up all philosophies. In France it assumes the character of a science endeavouring to embrace all sciences. The St. Simonians, though defunct as a sect, have given very general circulation to the idea and the hope. And even the new Catholic party now forming in France, of which the Abbé de la Menais is an accomplished and eloquent representative, proceeds upon the same principle. Science, as now cultivated, creates as much evil as it removes; there is not a new discovery of importance in mechanics which does not slay its thousands. What is the cause of this? The sciences are not yet socialized." 'Shepherd,' 1837.

Abbey of Cîteaux, in the Côte d'Or, for the sum of 1,300,000*f.*, for the purpose of erecting it into a model Phalanstère. It is reported that Mr. Young has also promised the further sum of 1,000,000*f.* in prosecution of the design, and that he is to receive a handsome interest for his money before the labourers divide the profits.\*

Upon Fourier's system "all industry will become a public function, and there will be a social revenue before there will be an individual revenue. Forming at first one common mass of riches produced by the combined aid of the members, afterwards to be divided among them according to the part each has had in the *Cheesemakers of the Jura.* production." As an actual example of the association of labour on this system, M. Considérant adduces the mode of fabrication of the cheese called Gruyère in the Jura mountains. "The peasants rent a small house in two parts, the workshop and the dairy, with a cellar. In the workshop they place an enormous copper, destined to receive the milk of two hundred cows. A single man suffices to make two or three cheeses of from sixty to eighty pounds weight. These cheeses are then disposed in a cellar to be salted and cured. Every day the quantity of milk brought to the dairy is noted on two pieces of wood—one for the milker, the other for the manager. It is therefore known exactly how much each family contributes. They can even keep an account of the relative qualities of milk, by means of an aerometer. At the epoch of sale they treat at wholesale with the merchants, and charge the carriage. Then, in sharing the proceeds, they deduct rent, fuel, utensils, &c.; they pay the manager in proportion to the general benefit, and divide the rest amongst the families, proportionably to the value of their respective investments."

In the same mountains the advantage of the combination of agricultural with manufacturing labour is shown by the men, who in favourable weather cultivate the land, and in winter and snow

\* See Spectator, Oct. 2, 1841. London Phalanx, Oct. 30.

make the most finished clock-work, rivalling Geneva, which can scarcely compete with them in price from this circumstance. The peasants in the neighbourhood of Lille, and the single-hand ribbon weavers of St. Etienne, may also be cited in illustration.\*

Colonies of      Fourier quotes, in "La Fausse Industrie," the colonies  
 Francia.      of Francia, the remarkable dictator of Paraguay, as presenting an approximation, if a very imperfect one, to the realization of his own theory. "Francia has founded two hundred agricultural and social colonies, or phalanges, of fifteen hundred persons each, which already yield an enormous produce, more than double that of our cultures on the morselled family plan. Their numbers increase every year by sending out swarms; these social unions, although loaded with burdensome, unprofitable drudgery, such as the quadruple military service, have succeeded because their mechanism approaches, although in a very feeble degree, to the natural means. The phalanges of Paraguay distinguish three classes, high, middle, and low, and yet they live in good cheer, and burn annually one-third of their crops, because their suspicious dictator forbids external commerce, or carries it on himself as a monopoly, and surrounds his dominions by deserts.

"As a result of his new method, Francia's colonists have arrived at abundance and gaiety, they prevent indigence, and guarantee an ample minimum to the infirm of each phalange; they have various diversions, they are happier than their neighbours the *civilized*, whom they do not join though free to quit their societies; but they are still far from the degree of attraction necessary to induce imitation by the charm spread over their labours. Francia has erred in this and in many things. He destroys a third of the produce; he ruins his civilized neighbours; he dismisses at the

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\* The account here given of Fourier's system is chiefly extracted from M. Abel Transon's "Théorie Sociétaire," published in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, under the sanction of Fourier himself, a translation of which appeared in the "Shepherd;" from a "Series of articles on Fourier," in the *N. M. World*; and from the "Social Destiny" of M. Considérant.

age of forty-five the chiefs of families ; he refuses to admit rich families ; he establishes a desert round his possessions ; he paralyzes commerce by restricting it to a single harbour ; he forcibly reduces the number of domestics. But notwithstanding these and other faults, he has made certain points of progress. He has simplified finance by substituting a direct impost for all taxes ; he has granted a minimum to the infirm, and united all for the relief of the people ; given lucrative employment to the women, and saved the time expended on separate households ; secured healthfulness and good guardianship to the infants in public chambers, both by day and night, and profit by the children's labours exercised in joyous groups ; prevented waste on Sundays and revels at the public-house, by abundance of amusement gratis ; assured resources to the infirm, and to the community, by funds of reserve taken from the crops ; he has united magnificence and salubrity in the habitations of each social reunion, and given to each an internal gallery of communication at the first story. He has given an example of numerous unities of action, in military, agricultural, and domestic service ; and powerful introductions into other unities, by initiations into short sessions, four hours of labour only being required each day, besides the military service ; he has rendered commerce to be suspected and subservient to the mass, although his system of commerce is false ; and finally, he has smitten the argument of impossibility, which is the battle-horse of the snarling critics against combined culture ; he has given the lie to philosophy by proving, *by experience*, that great reunions are possible, and that they may maintain themselves spontaneously, by the single support of general well-being, without equality." " And what have been with Francia the means of success ? Moralism has employed three thousand years in persuading us that sensual pleasures should be despised, and that the people ought not to be hungry when the rich have dined well. Here is an innovator who, by an anti-moral digression, causes the people to live in abundance and good cheer,

and having had the good sense to speculate on this lever, has necessarily succeeded."

"Politicians, truly friends of progress, ought to fix their attention on this social germ whose numerous faults it would be so easy to correct."

General Bugeaud, Governor of Algeria, whose enthusiastic toast at the commemoration of Fourier's birth has been before mentioned, has proposed not very long ago, to establish military agricultural villages in the new French colony. "He has been known to have been long impressed with the truth and advantages of co-operation, having realized them to some extent upon his own estates. An elaborate report has appeared from him, developing the mode of management to be adopted in these military colonies, for the better and more economical management of the cavalry department of the French army in Africa, showing how great a saving would be effected according to the plans proposed. The Pasha of Egypt has also begun an attempt, after the example of Russia, to adopt a sort of co-operative military colonies."\*

Hofwyl. A happy illustration of Fourier's views in training youth to agriculture by *attraction*, and in connexion with the other departments of instruction, has been exhibited in M. de Fellenberg's educational establishment at Hofwyl. This consists of "a model farm; an experimental farm; a manufactory of agricultural implements; a workshop employed in the improvement of agricultural mechanism; a school for industry for the poor, in which the boys very nearly cover the expense of a sound practical education, by their manual labour employed upon the farm—the workshops being instrumental to their instruction, and the means of teaching to each some trade in addition to that of husbandry; a seminary for children of the highest class, whose education is finished by a course of agricultural studies, illustrated upon the

\* See New Moral World, May 29, 1841.

experimental farm by the assistance of the professors of the agricultural department of the institution; and lastly by a school for the instruction of the village school-masters from different parts of the Swiss Cantons.” \*

**Oberlin Institute.** Another instance which proves that industrial and mental labour may proceed advantageously together, and that also in connexion with the principle of working together for the common interest, is furnished by the Oberlin Institute.

About seven years ago forty young men withdrew themselves from the Presbyterian College of Cincinnati, in Ohio, rather than submit to the positive injunction of the heads of the college to abstain from all discussion, or even mention, of the subject of slavery. They left with high character, but with blighted prospects; they knew not what to do, or whither to turn; the stigma of Abolitionists was upon them. They resolved to establish an Institution, in which the rights of conscience should be maintained, in which the coloured person could be taught, and where he would be in all respects treated as a man and a brother. “About forty of the band repaired to the forest, and set to work to clear a tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, about eleven miles from Lake Erie. They first raised for shelter a long rough house of *slabs*, that is, of split logs, the bark remaining on the outer half. They toiled in the forest during the winter of 1834-5. They had no endowments, and little pecuniary help. The fame of their virtue spread. Learned and accomplished men, whose hearts were as cultivated as their intellects, volunteered for the honour of being the instructors of such disciples, repaired to Oberlin, flung off their coats, felled trees for some hours of the day, and delivered lectures for the rest. Young men and women flocked to this spot in the forest, to beg such instruction as should fit them to be teachers to the coloured people; and when told that there were no funds, and seeing that there was not accommodation for the increasing mem-

\* Reports of Count Capo d'Istria on the establishment of M. de Fellenberg.



bers, the unfailing reply was, 'I will provide for myself, if you will let me stay.' Building went on rapidly; a substantial building with brick, containing ninety-two rooms, besides the barns and wooden dwellings, which were the first work of their hands. A practical farmer superintended the labour of the young men. The young women, whose number is about one-fourth of the whole, keep the house, the dairy, and the clothes, and have yet found time to learn whatever fits them to be school teachers in their turn; and some are sound Greek and Hebrew scholars. The three hours manual labour per day, which is the rule of the institution, is supposed to be the chief cause of the excellent state of health maintained among its members,—a state of health very unusual in fresh forest clearing. The members themselves believe that their abstemious mode of living is also largely concerned in this effect. When the concourse of members and the pressure of poverty became great, the members, (including the professors and their families,) gave up first meat, (fermented liquors having been excluded from the beginning,) and then coffee and tea. They live on the corn, garden, vegetables, and milk, provided by their own labour; and they not only live but thrive. When they have not money wherewith to buy new clothes, the best coats are lent about to those whose business it is to go forth on excursions of business.

"One student, Randall by name, laid down for their use all the money he had in the world, 2500 dollars, and goes without as long as the institution is pressed. A farmer at a great distance, was touched with the story of the founders of Oberlin, and drove over a cow—the only gift he could bestow. A farmer who lived eleven miles off, in a good house, named Jabez Burrell, invited the new comers who could not be accommodated at Oberlin, to take up their abode with him. He boarded and lodged seventy for a year and a half. His wife, worn out with the charge of such a household, in so wild a region, fell a sacrifice. She died exhausted,—but with perfect willingness. She went into the affair, heart and hand with her husband, and preferred being worn out in such a cause to

drawing back from it. Another settler, named John Holcomb, resident twenty-five miles from Oberlin, took in thirty students, with their professor, in the same manner, and for the same time. Other neighbours have given whatever they could—money, time, labour of head and hands. \* \* \* There is one vacation in the year, and during these three months the members are as hard at work as any other season. They disperse themselves over the land, some teach; some preach; others organize schools, or establish anti-slavery libraries. At the end of the vacation, such students as can be spared from their new labours return to Oberlin. All are free to go and come, as they think right; and it does not appear that their studies suffer from this freedom.\* The Institute comprises a Preparatory, Collegiate, and Theological department, and numbers above 400 students, including those of “the despised race,” with twenty-six professors and teachers. The interests of the Institution have been hitherto promoted and sustained by voluntary contributions. Many of its original members have sacrificed their possessions and prospects by the very act of joining the Oberlin. There are twelve Trustees, or Directors, who perform their arduous duties gratuitously. There are twelve Professors, and fourteen assistant Teachers, who procure much of their support by the labour of their own hands. In March, 1839, the property of the Institution was estimated at about 65,000 dollars; consisting of land, buildings, a small library, agricultural implements, and stock.†

**Society of** In like manner worked with their hands, nearly two  
**Port-Royal.** hundred years ago, the illustrious Janseists of Port-Royal. “Bound by no monastic vows, the men addressed themselves to such employments as each was supposed best qualified to fulfil. Schools for the instruction of youth in every branch of literature and science were kept by Lancelot, Nicole, Fontaine, and de

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\* London and Westminster Review, Dec. 1838.

† Appeal on behalf of the Oberlin Institute, 1840.

Saci. Some laboured at translations of the fathers, and other works of piety. Arnauld applied his ceaseless toils in logic, geometry, metaphysics, and theological debate. Physicians of high celebrity exercised their art in all the neighbouring villages. Le Maitre and other eminent lawyers addressed themselves to the work of arbitrating all the dissensions of the vicinage. There were to be seen gentlemen working assiduously as vine-dressers; officers making shoes; noblemen sawing timber and repairing windows; a society subject to no common superior; pursuing no joint designs, yet all living in unbroken harmony; all following their respective callings; silent, grave, abstracted, self-afflicted by fastings, watchings, and humiliations—a body of penitents on their painful progress through a world which they had resolved at once to serve and avoid. From year to year, till death or persecution removed them from the valley of Port-Royal, the members of this singular association adhered pertinaciously to their design; nor among their annals will be found more, we think, than a single name on which rests the imputation of infidelity, or fickleness of purpose.”\*

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“The true organic principle of human regeneration runs down the stream of time, darkly visible and dimly seen, but still in being, and waiting the genial influence of a new era of scientific universalism and liberal intercourse, to complete its formation.” While in the institutions of Sesostris, Moses, Minos, and Lycurgus, some of the earliest, wisest, and most successful legislators whom History records, it shone with more or less of clearness and brightness, in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, the two great lawgivers of ancient philosophy, the same principle is distinctly marked. It may be interesting to glance at the sketch of social perfection which Plato gives in his celebrated Republic.

Plato's      The classes of Plato's citizens are three—the magis-  
Republic.      trates or sages—the warriors or guardians of the State

\* Edinburgh Review, July, 1841.

—the mercenaries or multitude. The last class are supposed blindly to take the impress of the other two. The welfare of the Republic was to depend upon the careful education and training of the warriors. They were to dwell apart from the other citizens in the camp, their arms always in their hands, and their sole object to preserve profound tranquillity to the State. They were to be bred to the love of eternal justice and truth, to believe that the wicked are wretched in prosperity, and virtue happy though unrequited; to condemn death and to shudder only at vice. They were to be taught that the object of every thought and action was the public good, and that the infraction of the minutest particular which tended to this was a crime. Music and the gymnasium were the two chief instruments of education, the first to temper and tranquillize the mind, the last to give hardihood and vigour to the body. The reading of the poets was forbidden to them, lest their mischievous fictions and the vile characters they attribute to the gods should corrupt their imaginations. That no low cares should obtrude upon their minds they should be maintained in common, but in the simplest manner, by the country to which they dedicated their lives. They should be inured to hardship, abstinence, the severities of the seasons. Medical art should apply prompt and simple remedies to accidental maladies, but not be perverted to prolong a feeble, disordered, existence. The destined wives of the warriors should be trained with themselves in the same principles, under the same masters, receive the same lessons of science and wisdom, and contend with them in the gymnasium for the same prizes. The number of marriages to be regulated by the excess or deficiency of population of the State, between adults who shall be selected by the magistrates as worthy to raise defenders to the Republic. The choice of individuals to be determined by lot, and the parties again to be set at liberty to form fresh unions when the State demanded. The children taken at their birth from their parents, should be tended by the mothers in common, themselves ignorant of their true offspring, and thus brought up as one family

bound in the strictest ties of affection. Deformed or sickly children, or those born of marriages made before or after the prescribed ages, of between thirty to fifty-five for men, and twenty to forty for women, to be brought up in obscurity.

Affection would thus be the common bond, and together with the sublime love of virtue, would animate them with a zeal surpassing their duty.

Out of this band would be selected those of rarest qualities, of most undeviating perseverance in their duties, to educate still farther for the office of the magistracy. At thirty they should be initiated into the study of dialectical philosophy, and for five years meditate on the nature of what is fitting and true; then returning to the business of the world and passing through purifying trials, at the age of fifty they would be invested with sovereign power. Henceforth occupied in promoting the good of the State, well-informed by experience and theory on every branch of their duties, they would become the representatives of the gods on earth; their people finding their happiness in a moderate but secure competence, (Plato does not however give any precise regulations to ensure thus much, and no more,) and the warriors in their freedom from domestic cares, and the respect and approbation of their countrymen.\* The object which Plato professes in his commonwealth is, "that every man should be placed in the position for which nature has best fitted him."

That the systems of Plato and others are full of imperfections, Godwin remarks, is no argument against their authority; but the contrary, since "the evidence of the truth they maintained was so great as still to preserve its hold on their understandings, though they knew not how to remove the difficulties that attended it."

It appears that Plato felt one of the greatest of these difficulties to be the danger of over-population; Aristotle, who held the same

\* Abbé Barthelemi.

doctrines, although he was the intimate friend of a monarch, saw this difficulty in a still stronger light, and considered that it would be quite impossible to preserve equality without regulating the numbers in a State.\*

More's Utopia. Eighteen hundred years later an English philosopher and lawyer, in the full tide of practice and fresh vigour of manhood, gave to the world, in imitation of Plato, his idea of a perfect republic; and both productions remain to us as marks wherewith to measure the tide of human progress. Sir Thomas More's Utopia is a treasure of quaint wisdom not yet out of date, although the face of society has considerably changed since his day. After reviewing the abuses of laws and governments, he gives it as his opinion, "that the settling all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is any property; for when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that, how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and honest men; from whence I am persuaded, that till property be taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties." Accordingly the principle upon which the society of his happy island is founded, is that of a community of goods, and he is more specific than Plato in his details of its economics.

The inhabitants of the Utopian towns, which, he tells us, are

\* See Malthus on Population, vol. 1, book xiii.

large and well built, interspersed with gardens, dwell in separate houses, which are changed by lot every ten years, but any citizen may freely enter into any house whatsoever. Each tribe of thirty families, placed under the superintendence of a magistrate called a *Syphogrant*, eat together in their own public hall, the men ranged on one side the tables, the women on the other; the magistrate and his wife presiding; the children who are old enough serve, and are fed by the elders from the table; and the children under five sit among the nurses in a separate apartment. The families in the country eat at their own homes. Farm-houses, well contrived and furnished, are scattered all over the country district belonging to each town, and extending at least twenty miles round it; and the inhabitants of the towns are sent by turns to dwell in them; forty men and women constituting a family, besides two slaves. A master and mistress is set over every family, and over thirty families presides a magistrate, as in the towns. Every year twenty of this family return to the town, and are replaced by twenty more from thence, that they may learn country work from those that have been there one year already, as they must afterwards teach the next comers from the town. The country produce, after supplying its own need, is taken to the town markets first for the supply of the hospitals, the house for strangers, the magistrates, and lastly for the public tables. But if any one likes to take provisions from thence to his own house, he may do so, because it is supposed he has a good reason for it, otherwise he would not prefer an ill-served meal to the public well-cooked plentiful feast.

Near these markets are others in which all manufactured articles are deposited, all things of a sort together. Thither every father of a family goes and takes whatever he needs for them, or himself, without leaving anything in exchange. There is no danger of a man's asking for more, since they are sure always to be supplied, and there is room neither for fear of want, nor glory in pomp and excess. Their clothing is all of one fashion—simple, adapted to the climate, and clean, but coarse, and made at as little cost of labour

as possible. Each family makes its own clothing. Besides agriculture, which is common to all, each man, and woman also, has a peculiar trade or manufacture. It is the chief duty of the Syphogrants to see that no man live idle, but that all may follow their trade diligently. They work six hours in the day, but if the markets are overstocked, the time of labour is shortened. That so few hours suffice to produce all that is necessary for the community may be easily believed, when it is considered how much labour is saved by the employment of women; by having to maintain no idle beggars, no idle priests, no idle rich; by making no useless articles of vanity and luxury; and from the practice of careful repairs of all works and buildings, so that new ones are seldom required.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grand-children, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding, and in that case, he that is next to him in age comes in his room. No city may contain above 6,000 families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten, or more than sixteen, persons in it; if the children are too many, some are removed to another family where they are deficient. By the same rule, cities that do not increase so fast are supplied from others that superabound; and if there is any increase over the whole island, colonies are sent to the neighbouring continent, where they take land that is idle and uncultivated; since every man has, by the law of nature, a right to such waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence.

The sick are taken great care of, and so carefully attended to in the hospitals, that few would choose rather to lie ill at home; and those who have fixed and incurable diseases they cherish in all possible ways; but if any is taken with hopeless and torturing



disease, the priests and magistrates exhort him to suffer death rather than linger in it, and such death is accounted honourable.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before twenty-two; neither polygamy nor divorce being allowed except in case of crime or insufferable perverseness, and the guilty parties are not permitted to contract a second marriage. Slavery for the most part is the punishment for the greatest crimes, since even criminals may thus be made useful to the State; such persons are the only slaves, except prisoners taken in battle, and they perform all the sordid and disagreeable parts of labour; they are chained and kept to continual work; but those who bear their punishment patiently are not left without hope of being restored to freedom. They have another sort of slaves who are treated better, the poor of neighbouring countries who offer themselves to serve them.

When they travel they are furnished with a passport, and are everywhere treated as at home, and if they stay more than one night in a place, they follow their own occupation in it. There are no taverns, alehouses, nor places for corrupting each other, but after supper they spend an hour together in their halls, in conversation, music, and amusement.

Over every ten Syphogrants, and the families subject to them, is placed a superior magistrate called a Tranibor; the superior magistrate, or Prince, of each town is chosen by the Syphogrants out of a list of four named by the people. Three deputies from each town meet once a year in the chief city to consult about their common concerns. In this council they examine what towns abound in provisions, and what are under any scarcity, that so one may be furnished from the other, and when the whole country is well supplied they export the rest in large quantities. Of these goods they give a seventh to the poor of those countries, and sell the rest at a moderate price. In exchange they bring what few things of foreign produce they need, and much gold and silver, which they keep in

case of war, or to lend to their neighbours. As they use no money, they adopt a singular expedient to preserve their treasure without corrupting the people. If it were hoarded in some tower or place in charge of the Prince and magistrates it might bring on distrust and suspicion of them ; if it were made into plate the people might grow fond of it and loath to part with it in time of need, so it is employed for the meanest household utensils and to make chains and fetters for their slaves, some of whom as badges of infamy wear also ear-rings and coronets of gold. If by chance they find diamonds or pearls on their coasts or rocks, they give them to their children to wear, but as they grow up they cast them aside with their puppets and toys.

Both men and women are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading ; some of peculiar aptitude for study, are allowed exemption from all labour by the suffrages of the magistrates. Out of these learned men they choose their priests, (of whom there is one to each of the thirteen temples in each town,) and their superior magistrates. They have all their learning in their own tongue, which is copious and expressive, and they know nothing of logic and chimeras and abstract ideas, yet they understand astronomy and seek to know the causes of the operations of nature. They hold that the soul is immortal and that God of his goodness designed that it should be happy, and therefore that he has appointed rewards for virtue and punishments for vice in a future state. They think that virtue is the living according to nature, that is, according to the dictates of reason, and that reason directs us to love God, to keep our minds free from passion and as cheerful as we can, and to use our utmost endeavours to help forward the happiness of all other persons. They reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness. Of all pleasures they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience ; and they account health the chief pleasure of the body, all the other

delights of sense being only so far desirable as they give or maintain health. They entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life ; yet in all pleasures whatsoever they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they consider always follows dishonest pleasure.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishment, so they incite them to the love of virtue by public honours. The Prince himself has no distinction but a sheaf of corn borne before him, nor the High Priest than a wax light borne in the same manner. They have but few laws and no lawyers, each man pleading his own cause. The men, and women too, are trained daily in military exercises, but they detest war, and are not eager to avenge frauds or injuries in trading matters against themselves, but they are ready to help their neighbours if they are oppressed ; but if any of their own people are killed wrongfully they demand the guilty to be delivered up on pain of going to war. And when they go to war they endeavour to sow dissensions among their enemies, and offer great bribes to such as shall kill or deliver up the Prince, or those on whom they lay the blame of the war, that they may prevent bloodshed and take vengeance only on the rulers who have done the wrong, and not on the people who are innocent. But if a battle must be fought, then the wives and families accompany their husbands and fathers into it, not only as Plato recommended, to look on, but that they whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the readiest and nearest to do it ; and it is matter of great reproach if husband or wife survive each other, or a child his parent. If they agree to a truce they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it.

As to religion, though they differ in all other things yet they agree in this—that they think there is one Supreme Being, who made and governs the world. Any man may be of what religion

he pleases, only there is a solemn law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance. They never raise any that hold these maxims either to honour or office, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them because they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases. More than this it seems even Utopian liberality could not concede.

The education of youth belongs to the priests, and they do not take so much care for instructing them in letters as in forming their minds and manners aright. There is nothing to be seen and heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree, for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it in their private houses; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

In concluding his account of Utopia, More remarks that this is the only commonwealth that truly deserves the name; in others every man seeks his own wealth, for he knows that how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, unless he provides for himself he must die of hunger; but here, where no man has any property, all zealously seek the public good; for where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public store full, no private man can want anything; though no man has anything they are all rich, for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties? What justice is there in this—that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary that no commonwealth could hold on a year without them, can earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of

the beasts is much better than theirs? "Therefore I can have no other notion of all the governments I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the public, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and acts they can find out—first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please."

**Bacon's** Bacon probably intended, like Plato and More, to give  
**Atlantis.** a model of a perfect society in his "New Atlantis," but his plan appears to have been left incomplete, and to have advanced only so far as to develop the idea of a republic of science, for the conducting of experimental philosophy on the largest scale. This scheme was partially carried out by the institution of the Royal Societies of London and Paris.

**Machiavelli.** The real tendency of Machiavelli's writings has been disputed; but whatever this may be, he asserts that in a true commonwealth possessions must be equalized; in his opinion "he who attempts to make a commonwealth where there are many gentlemen, must first begin by destroying them; that is, destroying their rights as private possessors."\*

**Campanella.** Thomas Campanella, a celebrated Italian philosopher of the sixteenth century, also projected the scheme of a society enjoying a community of goods, in his "Republic of the Sun." "His system is rude, and partakes too much

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\* The principle of common property, which was continued in the Christian Church chiefly in its monastic institutions, was advocated from time to time among its different sects. "Bock mentions among the early Unitarians, Gregorius Pauli and Daniel Zwicker, as advocates for a community of goods." "Inquiry respecting Private Property," Monthly Repository, Feb. 1821, which also quotes the corresponding sentiment from "Piers Plouhman,"—"Forthi cristene men scholde been in commun riche, no covetise to hymselfe."

of the martial and superstitious character of his age, but is remarkable as being probably the source of many of the peculiar opinions of the modern continental philosophers. He begins with Unity at the Head; this head has three subordinate officers—power, wisdom, and love. The first presides over all martial and gymnastic affairs; the second over scientific matters; and the third over the department of the affections—including feasts and festivities. Each of these has subordinate officers for different departments, and the whole machinery is dependent upon universal suffrage. Property is public. Rewards and punishments are determined by the authorities. His ideas of human beauty and perfection, of the value of gymnastics and temperance, combined with intellectual exercise, are worthy of the best philosophers of modern times. His religious ideas were very liberal, and his marriage system beautiful, though the tie was not to be irrevocable.\* The heresy of Campanella concerning the doctrines of Aristotle, and other received opinions, exposed him to great persecution. He was branded, unjustly, as an Atheist; he was seven times put to the rack, and spent twenty-seven years of his life in prison. Cardinal Richelieu afterwards procured him a pension, and he closed his life in 1639, in tranquillity, at Paris.† “Leibnitz,” says Dugald Stewart, “placed Campanella on a line with Bacon. No philosopher, certainly, has spoken with more reverence than he has done, on various occasions, of the dignity of human nature. A remarkable instance of this occurs in his eloquent comparison of the *human hand* with the organs of touch in other animals.”

Gaudentio di Lucca. “The Gaudentio di Lucca of Bishop Berkeley, is another instance of the principle of equal interests attracting the notice of an acute and powerful mind.”‡ Of this work Mackintosh says,—“A romance, of which a journey to an Utopia, in the centre of Africa, forms the chief part, called the

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

† Moreti.

‡ Hampden.

Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca, has been commonly ascribed to him (Berkeley); probably on no other ground than its union of pleasing invention with benevolence and elegance."\* At all events Berkeley was a great admirer of Plato, and some of his acknowledged opinions strongly favour the supposition. In his "Querist," addressed to his Irish countrymen, he endeavours to convince them that money is not riches, that riches signify the possession of such things as minister to the necessities and comforts of society, and that if exchange of these could be effected without it, money would be better dispensed with altogether.

Swift. Swift, in his well-known Gulliver, reasons negatively on the same side, by the pointed satire which he levels against the present system of society, by which "the bulk of our people are forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages to make a few live plentifully;" while "we send away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence, in return, we bring the materials of disease, folly, and vice, to spend amongst ourselves." †

Abbé de Mably. "The Abbé de Mably, in his book on Legislation," says Godwin, "has displayed at large the advantages of equality, and then quits the subject in despair, from an opinion of the incorrigibleness of human depravity. Wallace, the contemporary and antagonist of Hume, in a treatise entitled 'Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence,' (published in 1761,) is copious in his eulogium of the same system, and deserts it only from fear of the earth becoming too populous." He did not, however, apprehend any danger to his system of equality from this cause, until the whole earth should have been cultivated to the highest point.

\* Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy, p. 351.

† Part 4, chap. 6.

Weishaupt. "The modern attempts made by associations of reformers to re-constitute the fabric of society upon social principles, began with the German Illuminati, under the leadership of Dr. Weishaupt, commonly called Spartacus Weishaupt. From this school the French philosophy and the French Revolution proceeded. This was the well-spring of modern Republicanism and Socialism. The restoration of the religion of nature, and the law of nature, was the concealed object of this formidable institution, which had a secret organization of great extent, embracing names of high renown among the nobility and literati of Europe. Its philosophy was chiefly vague and negative declamation, which gave no definite system instead of the one it condemned. Much hypothetical matter has probably been written about this mysterious combination, but there can be little doubt that it existed in an immense ramification throughout Europe, under the presiding direction of a few extraordinary men in Germany and France. The campaigns of Napoleon scattered the host, many of whom regarded him in the light of a political Messiah, to establish the system for which they zealously contended."\*

Condorcet. The "Outlines of a History of the Progress of the Human Mind," were written, it is said, by Condorcet, under the pressure of the proscription which terminated in his death. In this work he conceives himself obliged to admit that a class of people which maintains itself entirely by industry is necessary to every State, because the labour requisite to procure subsistence for an extended population, will not be performed without the goad of necessity. To raise their condition and introduce a growing equality, he proposes a sort of assurance societies among this class, and believes by a system of calculations which he adopts, that it is possible to prevent credit from being the exclusive privilege of great fortunes, and of rendering the progress of industry

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.



and activity of commerce less dependent upon great capitalists. Condorcet holds, not only that improvement and happiness will advance with this progress of industry, but, with Godwin, the organic perfectibility of the human race, and even the extension of the term of life. He anticipates a time, notwithstanding, when population will exceed the means of subsistence, the result of which must be either a continual diminution of happiness, or an oscillation between good and evil.\*

Paine. Paine, in his "Rights of Man," proposes, as a measure for improving the condition of the poorer classes, to abolish the poor-rates entirely, and in lieu thereof to make a remission of taxes to the poor out of the surplus taxes, on the following plan : To every poor family for each child under fourteen years of age, £4 per annum, upon condition that each shall be sent to school, for which a certificate must be produced ; and to every person of fifty, until he shall arrive at the age of sixty, £6 per annum, and after that period £10 ; and this not as a matter of grace but right, since every labourer has paid £7 or £8 per annum in taxes, direct and indirect, during the period of his strength and vigour, and the annuity he would receive would be no more than the interest of the actual sum he had paid. "It is easily seen, that the poor are generally composed of large families of children, and old people past their labour. If these two classes are provided for, the remedy will so far reach to the full extent of the case, that what remains will be incidental, and in a great measure, fall within the compass of benefit clubs, which, though of humble invention, merit to be ranked amongst the best of modern institutions."†

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\* See Malthus on Population, vol. 2.

† "Rights of Man," p. 274.

"The progress of improvement, and a sense of mutual advantage, have induced societies of men to unite for purposes which have this tendency : such are Insurances, Benefit Societies, and all those institutions whose object it is to obviate the inequalities of fortune, and to lessen the weight of calamity by sharing it among a numerous association." (Monthly Repos., Feb. 1821.) Among these

"Thomas Paine is evidently a disciple of Harrington, who wrote his 'Oceana' in the time of Cromwell, and he advised the Protector to institute a commonwealth upon equable principles; but his Oceana is not indeed a community, nor indeed a social system. A system which proposes to improve the condition of mankind by the distribution of money, can never be a good final system of reformation."\*

Spence. Spence's Doctrine on Land, which excited some attention twenty or thirty years back, was, that the land is the people's farm, the rent of which ought to be equally divided among them. "But it unfortunately happened," observes Malthus, "that after the *proposed* allowances for the expenses of government, and the other bodies in the State intended to be supported, there would be

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institutions none have been more remarkable than that of the Freemasons—its origin lost in the earliest antiquity, and spreading to this day throughout all civilized countries. Whatever may be its real or pretended secrets, the true ends which it seems designed to promote are those of friendship, mutual assistance, and good fellowship. "The Abbé Baruel says that upon his initiation into the society of Freemasons, after having taken the oath, the following words were addressed to him by the Master,—'My dear brother, the secret of masonry consists in these words—Equality, and Liberty; all men are equal and free; all men are brethren.'" Rees' Cyclopaedia.

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

Among writers who admit the evils arising from the inequalities of wealth, the author of "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century," mentions Dr. Price, who concludes that "A scheme of government may be imagined that shall, by annihilating property and reducing mankind to their natural equality, remove most of the causes of contention and wickedness,"—Four Diss. on Providence, 1777, p. 138;—Chatelin, who, in his work "On Public Happiness," passes over the personal history of heroes and kings, and investigates the actual condition of the people in all ages and countries; and Dr. Hall, who in his "Effects of Civilization," gives an able analytical examination of the errors of the present system. "We often hear," he writes, "of inquiries into the state of nations in legislative assemblies, but there is a subject that never enters into the thoughts of any one to enquire about—namely, the state and condition of the great mass of the people; how they are fed, clothed, lodged; what kind of houses they live in; how they are supplied with fuel; how they are instructed. To know these particulars is truly to know the state of a nation." Dr. Hall proved, nearly forty years ago, before labour was so much aided by science, that the working classes received only one-eighth part of the produce of their own labour.

absolutely no remainder to divide, and the people would not derive a single sixpence from their estate."

With respect to property in land, a writer before quoted observes, that "in some parts even of this country the laws are much less conducive to the accumulation of landed property than in others, and many changes, though mostly for the worse, have been made with respect to the tenure and descent of property: we hear much of the danger of innovations on private property, but little is said against the scandalous conversion of public into private property. A great part, perhaps all, of our lands were formerly *shacke* (or *Lammas*) lands, of which the occupant had the use only whilst his crop was on, the land then reverting to the community for pasturage. Even now the *meer-bauks* that separate the lands belong to the community, and the occupier of two adjoining fields has no right to plough up the *meer-bauk* between them."\*

However wide the difference may seem between the established system of property, and that which would make it a common fund for the happiness of all, the definition which the partizans of each system give of the origin and objects of property is nearly the same. Hume's idea of property differs but little, apparently, from Godwin's already stated. Hume defines it to be, "the good of society;" abstracted from this, "it is entirely without foundation." Mill's opinion that property is "that arrangement with regard to useful objects which is, or is pretended to be, the best for all," has been also given before. Gibbon considers that "the original right of property can only be justified by the accident or merit of prior occupancy; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians. The savage who hollows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the hatchet, or the bow. The materials were common to all; the new form, the produce of his time and simple industry, belongs solely to himself." In process of time, "the common rights, the

\* Monthly Repos., Feb. 1821.

equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field and forest is circumscribed by the land-marks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first occupant to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters. In the progress from primitive equity to final injustice, the steps are silent, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason." \*

Thompson. The political economy of the co-operative principle has been most systematically treated in the "Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth," published in 1824, by Mr. William Thompson, of Cork. The points chiefly insisted upon in this work are, that labour should be free, the fruits of labour secure, and exchange voluntary. "When equal security is established, and the best form of individual exertion exhibited, the real points of superiority of labour by co-operation will be apparent, and individual

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\* Rome, vol. 7, p. 288.

This passage leads us to notice the distinction which a French writer, formerly quoted, (*Encyclopédie, Jurisprud.*) makes between the *negative* community of goods, or that "where all things are common because no one has appropriated them;" and the *positive* community of goods, or that "in which property belongs to all in the same way as private property, and to each as much as to all." The former, where "the materials are common to all, the new form, the produce of his time and industry," belonging to the individual, is the early stage of society; the latter, where not only the materials and the labour, but the produce is common to all, and appropriated to the common benefit, may be considered rather as its ultimate and perfect state. We have seen that among simple nations whose selfish desires have not been awakened to the refinements of luxury, and whose natural social tendencies have not been submitted to disturbing forces, there has been a disposition to pass immediately from one stage to the other; and among them society may be said to be as perfect, and to afford as much happiness as the limited development of their faculties will admit. But when the transition stage of "self-love" and "exclusive property," of which Gibbon speaks as "now necessary to human existence," shall have wrought their appointed ends in unfolding the elements of true civilization and improvement, and society shall take its natural, and therefore perfect form, it will, we may anticipate, reach a proportionably high pitch of social happiness, since the state of the whole will rise to the level of the highest point which individual exertion has attained. Mankind will then prove themselves, what they now profess to be, "of one family."

exertion will have no means of evading the proofs of its inferiority, by appealing to restraints no longer existing." Mr. Thompson bequeathed his property to the hands of Trustees as a perpetual fund in aid of Co-operative Societies and Infant Schools, and the promulgation generally of the principles of his writings. It is said, however, that his relations have contested the will, and rendered the bequest hitherto nugatory.

Gray's "Social System," which appeared in 1831, is a plan which seems to combine the St. Simonian scheme for regulating production and distribution by a National Bank, with that of the Labour Exchange, and the main difficulty it would have to encounter would probably be analogous to that which overwhelmed both these last—that of finding trustworthy and competent agents.

Of living writers the author of "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century," has been amongst the most zealous and successful in the cause of the association of interests. His works are characterised by refined and cultivated intellect, as well as by expansive benevolence.\*

The objections made against all systems of equal and united interests have been chiefly three:—first, that institutions so perfect are only adapted to perfect beings; but if the institutions of society are both cause and effect, it must be desirable to make these institutions as nearly perfect as possible, even as a means to the perfecting of the beings for whom they are designed.

The second is that they would supply no stimulus to exertion.

\* Among the advocates of social rights the poets take high rank. They, in all ages, have been the champions of oppressed humanity—

"For the injustice grieving, that hath made  
So wide a difference between man and man."\*

In all measures and all tongues they have sung the golden age, the happy state—

"Shall bless the race redeemed of man, when wealth  
And power, and all their hideous progeny,  
Shall sink, annihilate, and all mankind  
Live in the equal brotherhood of love."†

\* Wordsworth.

† Southey.

Malthus, who was led to his inquiries upon the subject of population by the considerations of the systems of Godwin and others, and who argues the subject at some length in his celebrated work, admits that although the objection is sufficient to his own mind, many ancient and modern instances prove that it is not, at least, universal. "It may be said," he also adds, "that, allowing the stimulus of inequality of conditions to have been necessary, in order to raise man from the indolence and apathy of the savage, to the activity and intelligence of civilized life, it does not follow that the continuance of the same stimulus should be necessary when this activity and energy of mind has once been gained. It may *then* be allowable quietly to enjoy the benefit of a regimen which, like many other stimulants, having produced its proper effect, at a certain point must be left off, or exhaustion, disease, and death will follow." This objection, therefore, he allows is not of such a character "as to make the proposal for an experiment in modern times utterly unreasonable."\*

The third objection is that of the rapid and excessive growth of population. "There can be little doubt," is the opinion of Malthus, 'that the equalization of property we have supposed, added to the circumstance of the labour of the whole community being directed chiefly to agriculture, would tend greatly to augment the produce of the country ;' but, he supposes, every depopulating cause of vice and misery removed, the numbers would increase faster than in any society yet known—faster than by any possibility the means of subsistence. Here then Godwin, Owen, Alison, (the representatives of sufficiently opposite schools) are at direct issue with Malthus and the political economists who agree with him, and it would seem that nothing but experience can decide the question satisfactorily between them. After tracing the imaginary consequences of the state of happiness which would produce a superabundant population, Malthus adds—"And thus it appears that a society constituted according to the most beautiful form that imagination can conceive, with benevolence for its moving prin-

\* Vol. 2, p. 278.

ciple instead of self-love, and with every evil disposition in all its members corrected by reason, not force, would from the inevitable laws of nature, and not from any fault in human institutions, degenerate in a very short period into a society constructed upon a plan not essentially different from that which prevails in every known state at present; a society, divided into a class of proprietors and a class of labourers, and with self-love for the main-spring of the great machine." Here again the deduction is in the inverse ratio to that which the other party draws from the same premises, and again the appeal must be made to experience; *a priori* argument can avail nothing where the axioms upon which the disputants ground their reasonings are diametrically opposed. The one party maintains the perfect wisdom and goodness of the laws of nature, and that when man's institutions shall have been placed in harmony with them, his unlimited progression and happiness will be secured; the other believes that the "mischief arising from human institutions is light and superficial, in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil, which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind."\* According to our estimate of the truth of these separate views, will probably be that we shall take of the conclusions to which they lead.

And yet, notwithstanding his plea of impossibility derived from his principles, the beauty and advantages of equality seem to approve themselves so warmly to his feelings that one might be almost tempted to claim Mr. Malthus amongst its advocates. "If," he says, "the danger of over-population were to be removed until the whole earth were cultivated, and a beautiful system of equality were in other respects practicable, I cannot think that our ardour in the pursuit of such a scheme ought to be damped by the contemplation of so remote a difficulty. An event at such a distance might fairly be left to Providence." And again—"The system of equality, which Mr. Godwin proposes, is, on a first view of it, the most beautiful and engaging of any that has yet appeared. A melioration of society to be produced merely by reason and con-

\* Malthus, vol. 2, p. 246.

viction, gives more promise of permanence than any change effected and maintained by force. The unlimited exercise of private judgment is a doctrine grand and captivating, and has a vast superiority over those systems, where every individual is in a manner the slave of the public. The substitution of benevolence, as the master-spring and moving principle of society, instead of self-love, appears at first sight to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. In short, it is impossible to contemplate the whole of this fair picture, without emotions of delight and admiration, accompanied with an ardent longing for the period of its accomplishment. But alas! that moment can never arrive. The whole is little better than a dream-phantom of the imagination. These 'gorgeous palaces' of happiness and immortality, these 'solemn temples' of truth and virtue, will dissolve 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' when we awaken to real life, and contemplate the genuine situation of man on earth."

In this melancholy, dispiriting, conclusion must we indeed rest? Or rather shall we not, in the words of Fourier's disciple, reply—"For ourselves, who would not dishonour our own intelligence by insulting the Divine intelligence; we who wish to adore and bless God, the sovereign creator of heaven and earth, of man and his passions, the dispenser of universal life, the Father of love, of happiness, and harmony; we shall not conclude with saying—That is impossible, because it is too beautiful; we shall conclude on the contrary, religiously—That is too beautiful not to be possible."



## ERRATA.

- Vol. 1, page 31, line 24, for "interitis" read "enteritis."  
page 69, insert after the list of Intellectual Faculties,  
" Genus IV.—REFLECTING FACULTIES, which compare, judge, and  
discriminate.  
" COMPARISON—Gives the power of discovering analogies, resem-  
blances, and differences.  
" CAUSALITY—Traces the dependencies of phenomena, and the relation  
of cause and effect."  
Page 140, line 2, for "describe," read "ascribe."  
221, line 13, for "inconceivably," read "inconveniently."  
The fragmentary remarks in chap. 4, part 1, were intended to be inserted  
at the end of part I.
- Vol. 2, page 357, line 8, for "cool, read "coal."  
page 372, line 29, for "is," read "are."



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